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Kozyrev Addresses Conference on Racism

LD3105092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0810 GMT 31 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow, 31 May—Racism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism have now moved to the forefront of the threat to peace, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev declared. Pointing out the need to fight against "aggressive nationalism," he called for state, international, and public organizations to join their efforts to overcome and remove these phenomena. It is a stable civil society, a rule-of-law state, such as Russia aspires to be, that creates the best conditions for the fight against racism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism.

Andrey Kozyrev was speaking today at the opening of an international conference, "The Fight against Racism, Xenophobia, and Anti-Semitism," which is being attended by representatives of Great Britain, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, France, Russia, and other countries and international organizations.

Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac said the conference, which pools the efforts of many public figures in Europe, is a pledge that man, his rights, dignity, and freedom will become the main concern both of individual states and of the entire world community.

France's Chirac Attends

LD3105211293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1946 GMT 31 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[Text] Moscow May 31 TASS—"Russia was and remains one of the key elements of the balance in the world and Europe, and therefore, as long as the matters are going well in Russia, it will be good for all Europe, but if Russia is plunged into a crisis—its consequences will be a painful blow to all Europeans," Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac, chairman of one of the ruling French parties and former prime minister of France, said in an interview with ITAR-TASS today. The Paris mayor arrived in Moscow on a private visit to participate in an international seminar on problems of the struggle against anti-Semitism and xenophobia which opened in the Russian capital on Monday.

Jacques Chirac believes that the present situation in Russia, in many respects, resembles the times of the formation of the Fifth Republic in France. The political instability, a grave situation in the economic sphere, the sharpening of nationalism—all these problems with which founder of the Fifth Republic Gen. Charles de Gaulle had to face in 1958, the Russian reformers headed by President Boris Yeltsin have to resolve now. Carefully observing from France the course of events on the east of the European continent, I am struck with the intellect, courage and purposefulness of members of the Russian president's "team", the mayor of Paris noted. "They need these qualities especially now that they are being faced, as supporters of Gen. de Gaulle at their time, with a heavy task of preparing and adopting a new Russian constitution answering to the democratic changes in the country," the French political leader pointed out.

"I am sincerely glad that the prepared draft constitution in many respects have something in common with the concept of the fundamental law of France, in which incidentally some amendments are also being introduced at present," Jacques Chirac said. "As a politician with a long length of service, I would like to warn Russians against the two dangers which the should try to avoid: the constitution of the country should not be either 'parliamentarian' or 'presidential', the former prime minister of France stressed. "The excessive enthusiasm for parliamentarism in a constitution often leads to its full ineffectiveness, while the excessive stress laid on a president's institution threatens with slipping down to authoritarianism," the French politician emphasised.

In reply to a question how he sees France's "Russian policy", Jacques Chirac said that there could not be a separate "Russian policy" of France, Britain or any other country: the "Russian policy" should be all-European. One of the main tasks of European, including French politicians is to make the public opinion in their countries feel the present situation in Russia, understand the needs of Russians, support them with specific actions but not with hollow promises, and admit Russia to the single European family of peoples. Gen. de Gaulle at his time proclaimed a slogan to build "Europe from Pacific to the Urals", and I am, as chairman of the party created by him, repeating: "We should build for our children Europe from Pacific to Siberia," the mayor of Paris stressed.

Shaposhnikov Meets With UN Envoy on Tajik Problem

PM0106111793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 May 93 p 2

[CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command Public Information Center report: "CIS Joint Armed Forces Commander in Chief Meets UN Secretary General's Special Envoy to Tajikistan"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, met with Ismat Kittani, the UN secretary general's special representative to Tajikistan, 28 May.

During the meeting they discussed the pressing problems of stabilizing the situation in Tajikistan, UN peacekeeping forces and UN observers taking part in performing this task, and stepping up the world community's efforts to provide the Tajik people with humanitarian aid.

CIS Consultative Coordinating Committee Session Held

Russia Offers Draft Agreements

PM0106105393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 28 May 93 p 2

[Report by Pavel Vasilyev: "New CIS Documents Being Prepared"]

[Text] The first session of the CIS Consultative Coordinating Committee created at the recent meeting of heads of state will be held in Minsk on 1 June. The committee members decided that Russian Federation Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin will hold the post of chairman for the next six months.

"The Russian delegation is not going to the CIS headquarters empty-handed," your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent was told at the Russian Federation State Committee for Economic Cooperation with the Commonwealth Member States. "We will offer our partners our own version of the Economic Union Treaty and also draft agreements on creating a customs union, pursuing a unified currency and financial policy, and cooperating in some other economic spheres. The total number of these documents will reach 25 titles."

Russia is counting on the vice premiers of the other interested CIS countries coming to Minsk with similar proposals. The coordinated versions of the doctuments will be submitted by 1 July for approval by the council of heads of CIS states. It will be held 16 July in Yerevan.

Body Formed To Promote Cooperation in CIS

LD0106171793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1342 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Vice premiers from the CIS countries gathered in Minsk today for the first session of the Cooordinating and Consultative Committee [CCC]. Our correspondent Petr Makritskiy is now on the line, and I will ask him to tell us what is going on, and what problems are being resolved.

[Makritskiy] Good evening. As has just become known, the first session of the CCC has ended. [passage omitted] Vyacheslav Kebich, prime minister of the Republic of Belarus, said when opening the meeting that the first practical steps have been taken toward further strengthening the CIS. A body has been created which will develop a wide variety of issues of cooperation between CIS states and present them for examination by the heads of state and governments.

[Begin Kebich recording] I considered it necessary to come to this session to, perhaps, express both my personal attitude to what is happening here today, and the attitude of the whole Belarus Government, namely that today we, or you, have to carry out the instruction of the heads of state, and finally organizationally form the body which the heads of state considered necessary for our commonwealth. Excuse me, I would like to say, not by way of moralizing, but by way of the importance and seriousness of this issue, that we probably no longer have the right to deviate anywhere, because our situation and all those instructions which we have received, force us to approach this sensibly and in as balanced a way as possible, bearing in mind that today we have to organize this body completely, and bearing in mind that this body will certainly be headed by people at the level of vice premier, or people who will be empowered by their governments. That is, they will have these powers, and those people will have the possibility of adopting any decisions on any issue without looking back. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Council of Economic Ministers Ends Work in Almaty

LD0106162093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1323 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Yelena Miroglova for TASS]

[Text] Alamay June 1 TASS—The Council of Heads of CIS Foreign Economic Ministries ended its second session here on Tuesday [1 June]. The session resulted in a protocol on general principles for improving measures of tariff and non-tariff regulation within the framework of free trade regime, agreements on setting up a CIS Council for Export Control and on information exchange in the field of foreign economic activities, as well as on rules to determine the country where the goods in question were manufactured.

The session endorsed the status and composition of the council's working groups, as well as regulations for their activities. These groups are to work in nine spheres, including investment cooperation, bringing in line and unification of legal procedures for foreign economic activities, normalization of marketing in third countries, coordination of work with customs statistics and free transit.

The participants in the session outlined a rough agenda of the council's third session, scheduled to be held in the Uzbek capital Tashkent in the latter half of September. The third session is expected to devise a mechanism for goods re-export, to discuss projects for cooperation in construction of facilities in third countries and general terms for mutual supplies by enterprises of CIS member countries.

Nazarbayev Favors Economic Relations With CIS

LD3005153493 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0100 GMT 30 May 93

[Interview with President Nursultan Nazarbayev by correspondent Sagat Batyrkhanova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Batyrkhanova] Nursultan-aga, after the celebrations dedicated to our great grandfathers, you made a speech in Karaganda, your favorite town.

[Nazarbayev] Yesterday's celebration in Ordabasy was a big event, which had never happened before, in which 150,000 people gathered to honor those who spoke in favor of Kazakhstan's unification. Touching upon this meeting, I will give you just one example—the coal of Kayram; its coal is being exported abroad and is helping to strengthen other countries' economies.

We used to export coking coal to Ukraine, and they in turn supplied us with coal. At a certain stage they told us: we will take your coal, but we won't give you coke. Our reaction was: OK, if you won't give us coke, you won't get coal. We will find other customers.

So now, due to the absence of coke, a furnace is standing idle at the metallurgical combine. Because of this, we were forced to build a coke battery. In Ukraine, the coke batteries are standing idle. Therefore, it would be really useful to use the existing idle ones, instead of wasting our funds on the construction of new batteries.

By doing this, we first of all would be giving jobs to coal miners; they will get their salaries, and it would also help to raise the living standards of people.

Second: we can't live without selling products. The same could be said about all metals. Let's take the metals of the Karaganda metallurgical combine or the non-ferrous metals of Karagayly. What's the point in leaving them in the ground when we could have benefited from their sales?

Therefore, I believe it would be useful to restore the relations that have broken up. I think that this will be useful, both for our metallurgical combine and for the coal industry in general.

Development of Interparliamentary Ties Seen

PM0106142393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 May 93 First Edition p 7

[Interview with Vladimir Podoprigora, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Interrepublic Relations, Regional Policy, and Cooperation, by Vasiliy Ustyuzhanin; place and date not given: "Commonwealth Parliamentarians Seek Paths of Rapprochement"]

[Text] Vladimir Podoprigora, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Interrepublic Relations, Regional Policy, and Cooperation:

A routine session of the CIS countries' Interparliamentary Assembly has ended in St. Petersburg. Within the space of a year—unexpectedly quickly—the deputies have traveled the path from awareness of the expediency of creating such a representative institution to practical work.

[Ustyuzhanin] So far only six former Union republics have expressed a desire to participate in the assembly. How do you evaluate this fact?

[Podoprigora] You have to be aware of the complexity of the actual problem. There is no real analogous situation. But nevertheless, I will make one comparison. The Council of Europe was formed over a period of decades. And at first not all of the states joined it; there were many contradictions there too. And in our country, the situation is doubly complex. Following the rapid collapse of the Soviet Union, it is hard to gain trust. The process of disintegration entailed too many suspicions. After all, Russia, whether we like it or not, has inevitably inherited the generic features of a big brother in the minds of our closest neighbors. Therefore, in my mind, the fact that there are six participants in the assembly is an achievement. And even if two states formed an alliance, that would not be a defeat either. What is important here is the precedent, the first step. Six republics have started off. And all in all I would assess the fact of the creation of the assembly as having global prospects rather than just being for the present moment.

Integrational trends will, nevertheless, prevail in the end. Economics will force us to cooperate more closely. The presence of an interparliamentary organ which is already formed and in operation will turn out to be a magnet which will inevitably attract the republics. Why pretend: When they became independent states, all the republics remained within the field of mutual attraction—because of their culture, history, technology, transportation routes, language, family ties. How can you throw this away?!

[Ustyuzhanin] What have been the first results of the assembly's activity?

[Podoprigora] The main one was that we were able to agree on the basic questions. We adopted the first recommendatory legislative acts, which will be used in national legislations. After all, the disruption of legal guarantees has affected people's lives most painfully. If a man has worked in Siberia, lived in Ukraine, served in Kazakhstan, and retired in Uzbekistan—who will protect his social rights now?

The first recommendatory legislative acts have been adopted. For example, on agreed principles of regulating citizenship. This is a small, normative document made up of 15 articles. They are all aimed at protecting civil rights. The session also resolved to prepare a draft convention on the protection of human rights and basic freedoms and the rights and freedoms of ethnic minorities.

Something must be said about another important document. On the principles of environmental security in the Commonwealth states. Unfortunately, for many years all of us ran the economy in such a way that nature has started to take its revenge on us. And now Belarusians, Russians, and Armenians all have to conserve their natural environment in equal measure. So the legislative act we have adopted, which will be discussed in the national parliaments, will enshrine provisions such as a state's sovereignty over natural resources, joint responsibility for damage caused, payment for activities relating to the use of the natural environment, mutual assistance in eliminating natural disasters, obligatory state inspections of construction and production installations, and so on.

The question of the CIS countries' mutual endeavors to eliminate the consequences of environmental damage which has arisen as a result of the disturbance of the ecological equilibrium in areas around the Semipalatinsk test site, Chernobyl, the Aral Sea, and other regions, is to be examined at the third sitting. Top-priority recommendatory acts on regulating economic activity include acts on foreign investments, customs matters, and combating organized crime.

A coordination council has been created to bring the legislations of the Russian Federation and Commonwealth states closer together.

[Ustyuzhanin] Do you consider this task to be feasible? After all, the economic managers [khozyaystvenniki] of the former USSR are currently subject to differing rules of the game.

[Podoprigora] Our laws are called recommendatory. They are a kind of first step toward common legal norms. The European experience testifies to the promising nature of such an approach and ensures unobtrusive and proper intervention in the sphere of the law in the name of the observance of common interests, and ultimately in the name of protecting citizens' social rights. These recommendatory acts will be taken into consideration when bilateral treaties are concluded.

[Ustyuzhanin] When the economic ties were broken, information ties were also broken or made much more complicated.

[Podoprigora] Fortunately, information ties actually proved not to have been broken very significantly. And indeed, the age of information technology enables us all to perceive, in one way or another, our proximity to one another. Nevertheless, the problem is an acute one and the assembly has studied it also. It was decided to elaborate a special legislative act on the principles of regulating information relations in states which belong to the Interparliamentary Assembly.

[Ustyuzhanin] Do you believe in the assembly's future?

[Podoprigora] I believe in the future of a Commonwealth and an assembly that will help the new states stand on their own feet.

Baltic Countries To Participate in Joint Exercises

WS2805132693 Tallinn BNS in English 1050 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Tallinn, May 27, BNS—Military from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania during the next three days will be training together at the Adazhi gunnery-practice ground and Lilaste training center in northern Latvia.

Officials at the General Staff of Estonia's defense forces told BNS the meeting cannot be regarded as tactical manouevres, as the military will mainly compete in shooting, cross-country race, etc.

A company of about 50 participants from each of the three companies. Estonia is represented by a company of the Kuperjanov infantry battalion.

The meeting will end on May 29.

Secretary Bentsen Said Bringing Aid 'Ultimatum'

PM0106143993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jun 93 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "To Moscow—With an Ultimatum..."]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of the Treasury L. Bentsen will visit Moscow 3-5 June. The main purpose of his trip is to hand President Boris Yeltsin and other Russian leaders a message from the U.S. Administration which essentially says that the Russian Government should take more resolute measures to get the economy under control before it can count on any significant Western assistance.

START II Seen Compromising Country's Security

MK0106133093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 60, 1 Jun 93 (signed to press 31 May) p 7

[Aleksandr Mitrofanov report under the "Follow-Up" rubric: "A Farewell to Arms of Retaliation?"]

[Text] **The START II treaty hastily signed at the very beginning of last January by Presidents George Bush and Boris Yeltsin has been under discussion in Russia for five months (and in the United States was approved virtually without any doubt expressed).**

The main themes that cause differences among specialists have already become a commonplace: Whether Russia retains enough nuclear weapons after the destruction of the strategic missiles subject to reductions? Whether the nuclear weapons delivery vehicles (land-based, submarine-based, and missile-armed aircraft carrier-based) of the two sides are equivalent? Whether the two sides are in equal position to build up the strategic offensive weapons on different types of delivery vehicles in the event that one of them should withdraw from the treaty? What is the economic advisability of retaining Russia's current nuclear potential (or, simply speaking, what is cheaper—to keep the missiles or to dismantle them)? Whether the United States provides sufficient technical and financial assistance if the document is ratified and the weapons subject to reductions begin to be destroyed in practice? It is around these problems that the argument between Major General V. Belous and his opponent, O. Cherkovets, is unfolding (see FEDERATSIYA No. 57 of 1993).

What is the most important thing here? Obviously, not quantitative, but qualitative characteristics of the treaty, what O. Cherkovets is actually writing about in his article. Different structures of the two countries' delivery vehicles make it qualitatively impossible to cut our land-based SS-18 missiles even if quantitative equality is ensured with regard to the remaining weapons (3,000 to 3,500), because the U.S. arsenal is dominated by missiles based on submarines, missile-armed ships, and aircraft. The permission for Russia to increase the number of submarine-based missiles by 50 percent does not change much, because they have yet to be built against the backdrop of the collapse of the military- industrial sector, to say nothing of the need to obtain geopolitical conditions equal to those enjoyed by the United States for the use of missile-armed submarines in seas and oceans, which is effectively impossible.

The permission we were given to keep the SS-18's provided they are converted into single-warhead missiles (that is to say, each missile will have a single nuclear warhead instead of 6 to 10 now) makes for us no difference, either. What we see here is a classical example of quantitative changes evolving into qualitative ones. The thing is that intercepting one single-warhead missile (or a string of them) is a relatively easy job for an American air- defense system. However, intercepting six to ten independently targeted warheads, even if they are launched by one SS-18 missile, is virtually impossible, because the difficulties of the requisite computer calculations will grow geometrically. The more so if tens or hundreds of SS-18's are launched at one time. This is why our SS-18's have turned into a constant "headache" for American strategists, which was metaphorically described by V. Belous.

Both at present and in the foreseeable future, the United States has neither technical nor mathematical means to neutralize the Russian SS-18's. And even the much-vaunted SDI program is incapable of saving them from the "Satan"—SS-18's, which, for us, are just the opposite, "the guardian angels." The technical difficulties related to the creation of SDI are well known (because of the need to launch into the outer space a large number of military missile satellites, satellites equipped with laser weapons, "nuclear-pumped" satellites and so forth). What is less known is that these systems that intercept enemy missiles rely on such mathematical software for the precision targeting on numerous movable objects that America lacks now and is unlikely ever to get. The thing is that the fastest supercomputers can work efficiently only with the requisite software, and software is a special form of mathematical equilibria that describe in detail well-known physical processes. So, present- day mathematics cannot give a precise description of the movement of four or more bodies seen via radars, if they move with different accelerations and at the same time rotate in relation to each other. Since an SS-18 may launch as many as 10 independently targeted warheads at one time, with each of them having a complex, pre-programmed trajectory, determining this trajectory via U.S. air- defense systems is simply impossible. Therefore, not all the warheads approaching their targets can be intercepted and destroyed. This is why SS-18's can justifiably be considered a retaliatory weapon that ensures the ineluctability of a counterstrike and, therefore, is capable of deterring any aggressor from the temptation to invade Russia.

There has also been few reports highlighting the fact that SDI was initially designed for fighting mobile missiles on the ground and at sea, especially for striking submarines with nuclear weapons on board since they can be seen from outer space as if it were the palm of your hand (thanks to water's optical effect: the deeper the submarine, the larger target it presents for a strike from space). As soon as technical matters related to laser- targeting space missiles on underwater targets (and these are readily soluble problems), the submarines will cease to be the most invulnerable type of missile carriers. The economic and technical superiority of the United States and all NATO will enable them to implement SDI for the purpose of destroying our submarines faster than Russia is able to double its undersea fleet in conditions of the social-economic and political crisis. So much for "maintaining parity!"

As many authors before him, V. Belous uses the term "unprecedented" to describe the scale of missile and nuclear warhead cuts. What is it that is so "unprecedented" in START II? What prevented the former leadership of the USSR, or the Russian Federation, to conclude "unprecedented" treaties before? Is "unprecedented" so good per se? Why is it that a significant positive sense is being attached to this term?

There is "unprecedented" and "unprecedented." The burning of the temple of Artemis in Ethesus in the fourth century A.D. by Herostratos was also unprecedented for that time. Over 2,000 years afterward, disguised behind high-flown rhetoric about "unprecedented arms reductions," former USSR President M. Gorbachev and his inner circle have, keeping this secret from the people and the army, liquidated the unique Oka missile system with a range of up to 400 km without receiving any compensation from the United States. Under the rustle of fine words about "the new world order" and "universal values of mankind" they have given the United States free of charge 70,000 sq km of the richest sea shelf in the Far East—this is also an unprecedented fact.

This is why questions related to this "unprecedented" nature are extremely important and answers to them are not mere rhetoric, but amount to the guarantee of our national security. Unfortunately, as they admire the fact of "strategic disarmament," its advocates avoid an elementary calculation of what it can lead to in the event of yet another sudden heightening of tensions in the world (and it is an axiom that anything can happen in international affairs).

We believe that strategic disarmament in conditions of unprecedented national humiliation (here, as a matter of fact, this term is very apt) has never lead to improving the security of any state. Nor will Russia's security be strengthened by the current talks with the United States as long as the country is in ruins, as long as the people are growing more and more impoverished and the country's economy continues to break up. In a situation like this, it is especially important to recall that they pay heed to Russia as a great power, or pretend to do so, as long as it has a weapon of retaliation—elusive strategic missiles, our multi-warhead "guardian angels." As soon as they turn into single-warhead ones, Russia will be addressed in the language of ultimatums as was the case with Iraq or with the former Yugoslavia, but it will be too late then to look for those responsible. This is why it is better to stop now and not to play with fire, particularly if it is nuclear.

Political Solution Sought in Black Sea Fleet Situation

Three More Ships Raise St. Andrews Flags

LD0106174493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—Another three ships of the Black Sea Fleet Hydrographic Service raised the St. Andrew's flag here today, to make the total number of vessels to raise the Russian Navy flag 206, sources at the Fleet Press Center told ITAR-TASS.

According to the press center, Sevastopol women have started to raise food and clothes for crews of the ships under the St. Andrew's flag, as order 103 of May 20 of Ukrainian Defence Minister Colonel-General Konstantin Morozov denied them all types of ration.

Alongside the foodstuffs, the women give seamen St. Andrew's flags they make themselves.

Officers To Hold General Meeting

LD0106153093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1432 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, June 1 (TASS)—The coordinating council of the Black Sea Fleet officers' assemblies called upon the fleet personnel to remain calm and reasonable, and to support the idea of solving all most complicated problems concerning the Russian-Ukrainian fleet only by inter-state negotiations. At its earlier meeting, the coordinating council expressed support for the Black Sea naval sailors who had raised St. Andrew's flags (Russian marine colours), "historical, not foreign", in protest against ill-considered and discriminative actions by the Ukrainian Defence Ministry in respect to the fleet on the whole and the sailors who refused to take an oath of allegiance to Ukraine.

The officers flatly dismiss "absolutely unsubstantiated, absurd conclusions" about hostile attitude of the Black Sea sailors towards Ukraine, reminding that most of these sailors are native inhabitants of the Crimea peninsula or consider themselves to be such.

To work out well-balanced approaches to the fleet problems and to stabilize the situation in the naval depots, the coordinating council decided to convene a general meeting of the Black Sea Fleet officers on June 10.

Summit Planned for Mid-June

LD0206110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1005 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin sent Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to Kiev to prepare a Russian-Ukrainian summit on the disputed Black Sea Fleet, according to a presidential spokesman, who added that Yeltsin had also sent a personal message to Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk.

The Russian president is concerned over the recent developments on the Black Sea Fleet and follows them attentively. He stresses that the conflict which originated not by Russian fault resulted in violations of the Yalta agreements, the spokesman said.

"The Black Sea Fleet problem is to be solved proceeding from a sober-minded understanding of historical and modern factors with consideration of the norms of international law and the basis for inheritance, rather than from temporary political emotions", Yeltsin was quoted as saying.

TASS learned from well-informed sources in Sevastopol that the summit is planned for June 12 or 15. Kozyrev is to visit Kiev on June 7 and then plans to travel to Sevastopol, the major Black Sea Fleet base.

On Wednesday a group of high-ranking Ukrainian officials from the Defence Ministry, security and customs services, as well as from the office of the prosecutor general arrived in Sevastopol, according to the sources which said the visit is connected with preparations for the Russian-Ukrainian summit.

Yeltsin Sends Kozyrev to Ukraine

LD0206093993 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] We have just received an announcement from the Russian president's press secretary which says, in particular:

Russia's President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is following the development of the situation regarding the Black Sea Fleet with care and concern. He points out that violations of the accords which emerged from the Yalta Agreement are occuring in this conflict, which was not started on Russia's initiative. The problem of the Black Sea Fleet and its location, the president thinks, must be resolved proceeding from a sober understanding of historical and contemporary factors, taking into account standards of international law and the basis of legal succession, and not short lived political emotions.

Proceeding from an understanding of the speediest need for a solution to the problem and to ensure normal working and living conditions for the Fleet's collectives and their families, the president has delegated Foreign Minister Kozyrev to go to Kiev in order to prepare the documentary and juridical basis for a meeting between the presidents of Russia and Ukraine, during which the whole range of problems of the Black Sea Fleet will be discussed. At the same time, Boris Yelstin has also sent a personal letter to Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk.

Lack of 'Unified and Clear' Policy Toward Ukraine

PM0106125993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 May 93 First Edition p 8

["Editorial Viewpoint" article: "Russian Authorities Should Formulate Unified Policy on Ukraine"]

[Text] The invitation for Ukraine to participate in a tripartite alliance with Poland and Hungary, which Lech Walesa brought to Kiev, contains one indispensable condition. This new "Warsaw Pact," which proclaims its aim to be cooperation and security (the Polish president has dubbed it NATO-B) reserves places for the Baltic states, the Czech Republic, and even Romania and Moldova, but Russia has been declared persona non grata from the outset.

The gravitation of the former Warsaw Pact comrades-in-arms and CEMA partners—amid the breakup of both structures—toward new forms of cooperation is due to the EC's reluctance to open its doors to their exports and to NATO's restrained reaction to having its recent ideological and military enemies expand its membership.

Why in that case is Russia's involvement in the new collective security mechanisms ruled out? People often say that some of our near neighbors are convinced that the now free democratic Russia may revert to the "imperial past" of the USSR's times and the "cold war." Some people even build their platform, sometimes their election platform, and a political career at the same time on unmasking new "external enemies."

Let us recognize as futile any quests for "who started it first" and instead let us try to first understand why "there is no consensus" among the former "comrades" and then deduce a formula for consensus in the spirit of the "Realpolitik" of the seventies.

If politicians in Kiev consider relations of alliance with their Western neighbors to be more advantageous, why is Russian diplomacy losing out here? What has been done to ensure that the rocketing prices of Russian energy sources do not undermine the economic ties with Ukraine that have taken decades to build up? What kind of compromise is possible on the question of the status of Sevastopol, the Black Sea squadron, the bank assets and property that have remained abroad as the USSR's legacy?

It is well known that the negotiating process is continuing, but there is the opinion that Russia lacks a unified and clear policy toward the major European power that Ukraine is. Parliament, which previously displayed a fairly one-sided approach to the fate of the Crimea, is now keeping quiet. Foreign Ministry activity has been confined to individual areas. While general strategic policy seems to have been left to the discretion of the president personally. The diplomatic vacuum born of this uncertainty is being filled by those states who have things to offer.

Time is passing and the road from Moscow to Kiev is growing longer. Who will evaluate the losses sustained as a result of missed opportunities?

Border Checkpoints To Be Set Up With Ukraine

LD0206095993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0841 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed a resolution of the Russian Council of Ministers, approving the draft of an intergovernmental agreement between Russia and Ukraine on customs checkpoints to be set up on the borders between the two countries.

The draft says that both states, "guided by a desire to perfect cooperation in carriages over the customs border and eager to enhance the traffic capacity of checkpoints, and also to create adequate conditions for the crossing of the customs border by individuals, transport facilities and goods", shall set up 13 railway checkpoints and 22 motor road checkpoints each on the customs border between Russia and Ukraine. Aerial and marine traffic, exchange of international post between Russia and Ukraine will be effected through air and seaports, opened as international passage points, as well as through places and points of international postal exchange on the basis of the existing international treaties and also the domestic legislations of the two countries.

The deadlines for opening such customs checkpoints, as well as all the forms of carriages effected through them, will be determined by Russia and Ukraine by notes exchanged in the course of the creation of the necessary infrastructure, the draft says.

Slavic Unity, Cooperation Idea Hailed

PM0106133393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 May 93 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Mikhaylov: "Market With Slavic Features"]

[Text] The participants in a conference on Slavic security and cooperation to be held in Belgrade 28-30 May will try to create a market with Slavic features.

Never before in postwar history has the Slavic world been as disunited as it is today. There are many disputes and misunderstandings. Blood has been shed. It is as if the 300 million or more Slavs—a civilization on an international scale!—have forgotten their common roots, shared past, and similar world outlook.

That is what the conference organizers want to discuss. The Slavic Assembly [Slavyanskiy Sobor] is represented in various countries by local assemblies, which claim that all of today's problems are due to the lack of genuinely national governments. Russia has the Russian National Assembly, which many regard as an odious, nationalist organization, Belarus has the Belarusian National Assembly, etc.

It is not surprising that opposition organizations are making much of the Slavic idea. The harsh new redivision of the Slavic world, the new states' struggle for independence and survival, and, finally, competition for Western credits have pushed everything else in politics into the background.

The Slavic Assembly is hoping for an appreciable response to the conference and new supporters. Although, as Assembly Cochairman Stanislav Karpov has said, opposition from the authorities, attempts to set up an information blockade around the movement's ideas, and even constant provocation have to be taken into account.

In my opinion, if the echo from the conference is only very faint, it will not be for the reasons described by Stanislav Karpov. In the majority of cases, ordinary Slavs have no time to think about uniting: Their one thought is how to survive. The only coordinated action in evidence at present is in the markets of the West and East, where they obtain goods of dubious quality for their people.

Consequently, the idea of a spiritual, political, economic, and defense alliance of the Slavic states certainly will not find a response in everyone. That, however, according to a statement issued by the Slavic Assembly, is what the "delegations from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Serbia, Montenegro, Poland, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and other Slavic states" will discuss in Belgrade. Stanislav Karpov does not lose his optimism: "Sooner or later, the Slavic peoples will realize that they can only withstand the West's economic and political expansion if they work together. Serbia has learned this from its own bitter, bloody experience. It now supports the idea of the conference in every way possible, including financially. We do not want other of our peoples to go through the horror of civil war as the Serbs have done."

So, the policy is clear: to counteract Western assimilation of the Slavic peoples. To form national governments protecting the interests of Russians first and foremost, Bulgarians first and foremost, Poles first and foremost.... In short, Slavs first and foremost. There should be proportional representation in the organs of power, in science, and in art for all nationalities living in Russia, for example.

When national governments assume power in Slavic countries and a market with Slavic features begins to form—free of communists and today's democrats, who, in the Slavic Assembly's opinion, are the same as each other—the time to directly implement the idea of an economic and defense alliance will come.

The Slavic Assembly is convinced that the Common Market and a united Europe are extremely dangerous to a disunited Eastern Europe. The Slavic countries will be swallowed up and assimilated one by one; they will cease to exercise full control over their territory and its wealth; and they will become a raw material adjunct of powerful international capital and a source of cheap manpower. It must be said that every day many see this as a very real prospect. So in this respect at least the Slavic Assembly is very near the mark. Finally, the question of a defense alliance. "We do not want to isolate ourselves: We want to cooperate with the whole world," Stanislav Karpov said. "But countries prefer to cooperate with a strong partner. They respect it if it is independent and strong, has a sense of identity, and knows its own worth. The Belgrade conference will be a step in this direction."

That is the maximum objective, so to speak. The conference also intends to discuss purely practical matters. For example, creating a single information area for the Slavic peoples; organizing an international radio and television broadcasting company; setting up an international Slavic bank; and uniting patriotically minded entrepreneurs in one organization. This, in particular, will give financial assistance to the Slavic Assembly itself and to national assemblies in individual countries.

Serious intentions, as we can see. Although there is an enormous distance from good intentions and broad plans to practical implementation, one point is worth thinking about: No one else in recent years has seriously studied the Slavic idea, which is essentially a noble idea. Nature, as we know, abhors a vacuum.

Yeltsin Signs Order To Improve Talks With Baltic States

LD0206082093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0712 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed an order on measures to boost the efficiency of the Russian delegation's talks with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

The document says that its purpose is to enhance the efficiency of the Russian delegation's negotiations with these nations on problems of mutual concern in the political, military, economic, social and humanitarian spheres with due account of Russia's special interests in the Baltic region and also with a view to laying a solid legal foundation for bilateral relations.

The order says that all the Russian executive authorities should be "unswervingly guided by the coordinating status of these delegations in drawing up treaties and other bilateral documents" with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The Russian Foreign Ministry is instructed to coordinate the work of the Russian delegations at the negotiations with the foregoing states. The heads of the delegations are vested with the right to submit proposals on the entire range of outstanding problems to the Russian Foreign Ministry, which are to be forwarded to the Council of Ministers in accordance with the fixed procedure, and also to sign on the government's behalf intergovernmental agreements with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia".

More on Mayorov Protests to Latvian, Estonian Leaders

PM0106125193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 May 93 p 2

[Correspondent Oleg Meshkov report: "General Could Not Contain Himself"]

[Text] Riga—One of the main issues discussed during the latest round of talks between the Russian and Latvian delegations in Jurmala was Russian troop withdrawal. But while officials were talking there was no end to the provocations against Russian servicemen in the republic.

It was the last straw, so to speak, and Colonel General Leonid Mayorov, commander of the Northwestern Group of Forces, was forced to send a protest to Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council.

The commander's message cites specific instances of such provocative actions. For example, a detachment of the 12th Battalion of Zemessargi (militiamen) stopped a duty patrol vehicle. Major V. Petrosevich and the driver, Private S. Gorodnichiy, were arrested and sent to the battalion's base under the command of V. Markus. Gorodnichiy endured four days of humiliating treatment. Markus is conducting an autonomous investigation.

Three days later near an aviation school checkpoint zemessargi from the same battalion stopped three servicemen returning from leave. V. Baranovskiy was arrested at gunpoint and is still under arrest. These illegal acts, the letter says, were committed using force and weapons in violation of legal norms governing defense of the rights of the individual, the servicemen, and the army under Russian jurisdiction.

Leonid Mayorov sent a similar letter to Estonian President Lennart Meri, saying that four Estonian citizens tried to infiltrate the territory of the Russian Army's combined artillery supply depots in Tallinn 23 May. Their aim being to steal weapons and ammunition. A sentry opened fire. One of the intruders was wounded, another arrested, and the Estonian police are searching for the others.

In his letters the commander voiced a resolute protest at the provocations, noting that these actions contravene the agreements reached during talks involving Russian, Latvian, and Estonian delegations and may have unpredictable consequences.

Talks With Latvia on Military, Social Issues Open in Moscow

WS3105150893 Tallinn BNS in English 1544 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Moscow, May 31, BNS—A special round of talks between Russia and Latvia got under way in Moscow on Monday [31 May]. The state delegations are headed by Ambassador at Large of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Sergey Zotov and State Minister of Latvia Janis Dinevics.

The diplomats stated before the opening of the working session that the purpose of the round was mainly to sum up the work done, for parliamentary elections will soon be held in Latvia and it is possible that the delegation of the country will be changed. That is why the Moscow round will finalize bilateral agreements which are expected to be signed on June 2.

Draft agreements concerning military matters include the documents on railway transportation, use of the air space and territorial waters of Latvia by aircrafts of the Russian army and Russian navy ships. These measures are to regulate the process of the withdrawal and maintenance of Russian troops located on the Latvian territory. The documents granting hydrographic equipment to the Latvian side and regulating the customs formalities for crossing the border during the withdrawal period are expected to be ready by June 2.

Russian and Latvian representatives are to discuss social issues as well, namely the agreement on military pensioners and social guarantees for military people and their families. The sides intend to prepare the documents which will make the process of moving easier for those who want to relocate from Latvia to Russia and vice versa as well as discuss the issues concerning visiting relatives in one of the countries.

The diplomats intend to agree on equipping the check posts on the common borders as well as on environmental protection measures.

The most important economic documents deal with the operation of oil pipelines on the Latvian territory and transportation of Russian citizens and cargos through its territory.

Spokesman Says Observers Not To Attend Latvian Elections

LD0106132493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1238 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—Russia will not send its observers to Latvian parliamentary elections in protest against human rights violations of the Russian-speaking community in the Baltic state, according to spokesman of the Foreign Ministry.

Sergey Yastrzhemsbkiy told a briefing on Tuesday that Latvia had invited Russia to send its observers to the June 5-6 elections. "We are offered to see with our own eyes how organised and without violations of local laws the major political event will be held in which, according to some estimates, over a third of the population, mostly Russians and poeple of other nationalities, were not allowed to participate", he said.

The Russian Foreign Ministry is grateful for the invitation, but cannot use it as it believes impossible to "participate in an event which can be assessed as the recognition of legitimacy of infringements on political rights of a considerable part of the population of Latvia", Yastrzhembskiy said.

Border Guards' Task on Tajik-Afghan Frontier Viewed

PM0106133993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 28 May 93

[By Mikhail Nikulin and Sergey Dzheglov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Nikulin] The end of the war and the beginnings of stabilization on Tajik territory only served to further embitter the Islamic Renewal Party fighters dug in on the opposite bank of the Pyandzh river after finding refuge in Afghanistan.

Almost every night there is an emergency call-out for the Russian border troops guarding the southern border of the CIS countries, whose task it is to curb attempted border violations.

In the Pyandzh border detachment sector alone there are up to a dozen such attempts every day. If you consider that the border extends for 1,200 km and is guarded by only a few border guard detachments, you can imagine how many border violations these young boys in the green caps have to try to stop.

It is one thing if it is refugees trying to cross the border, having found themselves in an alien land involuntarily and only now returning to their home areas. But it is quite a different matter if it is gunmen who have undergone special training in Afghanistan and who are set on toppling the state system in Tajikistan. They come armed to the teeth and try to fight their way deep into the country. They put up fierce resistance to the border guards and the regular Tajik Armed Forces units now formed to assist the border guards.

The republic is confident that all attempts to destabilize the situation are destined to fail completely.

Russia-Kazakh Conference Called 'Sorry Business'

PM2705115993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Sergey Suslikov report: "Omsk: Political Mecca or New Vasyuki?"]

[Text] Omsk—An attempt by the leaders of contiguous territories of Russia and Kazakhstan to create an interregional cooperation mechanism—the Economic and Cultural Cooperation Association, with its headquarters in Omsk—has ended in embarrassment. The organizers of the measure and the provincial authorities had to put a brave face on a sorry business.

In an attempt to smooth things over, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, who participated in the conference, accounted for the organizers' failure by saying that since 9 January, when the "Agreement on Principles of Cooperation Between Contiguous Territories of Russia and Kazakhstan" was signed in Omsk, a new constitution has been adopted in sovereign Kazakhstan, which has taken away from the territories the autonomy that they had. Today the leaders of Kazakh oblasts are banned from signing documents on an interstate level—this is the prerogative of the president and the prime minister.

The discrepancy in the two republics' legislations (in Shakhray's opinion, Kazakhstan has taken the path of creating a unitary state, while Russia is gambling on strong, autonomous regions) predetermined the negative outcome of the matter.

The explanation appears quite convincing, if it were not for one question which stuck in the minds of journalists, economic planners, businessmen, and ordinary citizens: "Why was it necessary to uproot the leaders of some 20 oblasts, krays, and republics and assemble then in Omsk in order, after many hours of trouble and uncertainty, to make this discovery: 'You have come together in vain, because, as it turns out, the wrong constitution has been adopted in Kazakhstan...'?"

I will venture to surmise that, through the endeavors of the provincial authorities, Omsk is being turned into a kind of "political Mecca," a place of pilgrimage for presidents, premiers, vice premiers, speakers, and deputy speakers, who not only come but also bring credits for defense enterprises, sign important papers, agree, resolve, promise, and rate highly the activity of the local leadership.

This may be so, but I believe that it is probably hard for the ordinary Omsk resident, an inexperienced and amicable person, to get away from the immodest desire to advise the oblast's leaders: If they intend to found an association of contiguous territories with its capital in Omsk, they should be more respectful toward future partners from the Urals, Siberia, and Kazakhstan. Once again, it is a question of Kazakhstan—it is necessary to work in close connection with it and ensure the compulsory involvement of experts in coordinating drafts of documents. Is this really difficult when we have faxes, teletype machines, and telephones?

Alas, the logic of the ordinary city dweller and the logic of the politician are not quite one and the same thing. The ordinary city dweller (worker, teacher, entrepreneur) associates with the creation of the Economic and Cultural Cooperation Association the possibility of developing his own city. The politicians' aim is closer at hand. For the organizers of this latest measure it was far more important to create an impression, earn political points, and—this cannot be ruled out—make their career.

There was another unexpected thing too. The economic planners who participated in the conference displayed their reluctance to participate in political shows: "This is the third time we have met, but what is the point?" Petr Buderkin, general director of "Omskshina," declared. "The plant's territory is strewn with tires, Kazakhstan cannot buy them although it has the money, and the enterprise's collective of 14,000 working people is stopping the shops and curtailing production." For Buderkin the problem is that he, the leader of the celebrated "Omskshina" and one of Russia's oldest directors, feels like a boy who has lost the ability to influence the politicians who determine the course of events in the economy.

Yeltsin Envoy on Peacekeeping Prospects for Abkhazia

LD2805151693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Boris Pastukhov, Russian first deputy foreign affairs minister the Russian president's special envoy, has said in Sochi that the plan for creating unified Georgian, Russian, and Abkhazian peacekeeping forces is not feasible at present. According to his remarks, people who have been at war with each other for so long cannot carry out a peacekeeping mission side by side. It will take some time before this can happen. Pastukhov said that probably it will be necessary to choose other options for bringing peacekeeping forces into Abkhazia and that the assistance of the United Nations and the European Conference will be necessary.

Helicopters Leave Sochi for Abkhazia With Aid

LD0206085893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0805 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchyogoleva]

[Text] Sochi June 2 TASS—Four MI-8 helicopters with humanitarian aid cargoes on board left Sochi airport at 10.00 on Wednesday for Tkvarchelii to bring about eight tonnes of food and medicines to the beleaguered Abkhazian city.

The personnel of the Rossiya group of the State Committee for Emergency Situations continue preparing for yet another operation, to evacuate refugees from Sukhumi.

Representatives of the Russian Federal Migration Service and the Russian Employment Service left by helicopter for Sukhumi to notify the population of the city about the forthcoming evacuation operation and help local authorities compile lists of people who would like to leave.

The committee personnel have concluded a contract with the Sochi seaport to rent a Dagomys passenger catamaran, which can carry 250 passengers, for the evacuation period. A date for the beginning of the evacuation operation now depends on how quickly preparatory work in Sukhumi is completed.

Agreements Signed With Moldova; Credit Question Remains

PM0106123593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 May 93 First Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report: "Russian-Moldovan Talks in Moscow"]

[Text] At the Russian-Moldovan talks held in Moscow on 27 May, agreements were signed on cooperation in the spheres of transportation, standardization, labor, and social protection for Moldovan and Russian citizens working outside the borders of their states.

This was announced by Vice President Aleksandr Shokhin, head of the Russian delegation. Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli, head of the Moldovan delegation, announced that on Thursday he is hoping to meet with the Russian Federation prime minister in Sochi, where the latter is vacationing, in order to resolve the question of granting credit to Moldova. According to him, Chisinau is hoping to receive credit worth 70-80 billion rubles for the year 1993.

Official Says Kim Chong-il Responsible for NPT Withdrawal

SK0206012293 Seoul YONHAP in English 0107 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 1 (YONHAP)—North Korea's withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was decided by Kim Chong-il, and his father, President Kim Il-song, only found out afterward, Russia's top intelligence official said Tuesday [1 June].

Evgeniy Primakov, head of the Russian Intelligence Service, said the junior Kim gave final approval for Pyongyang's announcement it was leaving the NPT in March and his father wasn't involved in the decision. Kim Chong-il's camp was taking a major role in decision-making while Kim Il-song and other members of the old guard were gradually withdrawing from the playground, Primakov said.

He predicted that the junior Kim would have to take full responsibility if North Korea got into a difficult situation as a result of its withdrawal from the NPT, and said his absence from military-related events although he is the supreme commander of the People's Army is not totally irrelevant to this.

Primakov strongly hinted at U.N. sanctions if Pyongyang did not retract its withdrawal from the NPT, which takes effect on June 12, saying that "it would be inevitable to seek a countermeasure in a difference perspective should North Korea stick to its decision to pull out from the NPT."

Spokesman Welcomes Cambodia Elections

LD0106131893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1236 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—"Russia welcomes the holding of elections in Cambodia which open the way to peace and national accord in that country", according to Foreign Ministry Spokesman Sergey Yastrzhemsbkiy.

He told a briefing on Tuesday that given the good will of all political forces in Cambodia the second stage of the settlement becomes real which includes the work on a new constitution and the formation of a new government.

Russia hopes for "a constructive interaction of political parties of Cambodia with the interim UN body in the country during the whole of the transition period and stands for active support from the world community to the political restoration and economic reconstruction of Cambodia", Yastrzhemsbkiy said.

Spokesman Reviews Russian-Japanese Consultations

LD0106134593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1243 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—Russian-Japanese consultations at the level of deputy foreign ministers began on Tuesday [1 June] near Moscow, according to Foreign Ministry spokesman.

"First and foremost the talk is about an exchange of opinions on the whole range of Russian-Japanese relations, including the visit of the Russian president which, as is known, is still on the agenda", Sergey Yastrzhembskiy told a briefing.

The talks also focus on Boris Yeltsin's stay in Tokyo during the G-7 summit in July. "As it is known the participation of the Russian president in the 'Group of Seven' meeting does not replace his visit to Japan", he added.

Yastrzhembskiy warned against making a sensation out of the consultations. "In May (deputy foreign minister) Georgiy Kunadze visited Japan, now it is time for consultations in Russia", he said.

Russian, Japanese Deputy Foreign Ministers Discuss Summit

MK0206095693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 10

[Natalya Kalashnikova report: "Russian-Japanese Talks. The Question of Summit Date Again Under Discussion in Moscow"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Tokyo has already been postponed twice—in September and in May. The recent talks between Boris Yeltsin and former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone (see KOMMERSANT-DAILY of 18 May) have not helped resolve the question of the date of the proposed summit, either. Yesterday, Russian-Japanese talks resumed in Moscow—this time within the framework of a two-day visit to Russia by Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito.

On the eve of Saito's visit to Moscow, the Japanese Foreign Ministry declined to reveal all the details of the agenda of the talks. It transpired from Foreign Ministry spokesmen's statements, however, that this visit should be preparation for the G-7 leaders summit scheduled for July in Tokyo. It is well-known that the summit will focus on economic assistance to Russia, and Boris Yeltsin is also expected to attend it. Meanwhile, the Russian Foreign Ministry links the talks with Saito primarily to the determination of the date of the Russian-Japanese summit. This was announced at a press conference on Monday night by Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze, who added that "since it is very hard to remove the visit itself from the general structure of Russian-Japanese relations, other matters will also be touched upon." They include, beyond doubt, the main contentious issue—the Kuril Islands.

In Mr. Kunadze's view (and it was he who was charged with conducting the talks with Saito), saying that the visit is bound to be put off until next year is premature. Russian Foreign Ministry officials believe that political circumstances change fairly fast in both Russia and Japan, hence, no possibility can be ruled out. In any event, Mr. Kunadze said, the Foreign Ministry is intent on "searching for and finding a point of contiguity—in the first instance, by combining the schedules" of the two leaders. Mr. Kunadze himself does not exclude the possibility that the visit may take place as early as next fall.

Georgiy Kunadze also commented on the recent, fairly harshly phrased statements by representatives of Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic Party—these members do not hold government posts for the time being—with regard to Russia, particularly on the subject of the so-called "northern territories." He pointed out that these pronouncements did not go unnoticed and "to put it mildly, they do not quite help improve the atmosphere of bilateral relations." Nonetheless, Russian Foreign Ministry officials do not see this as a pretext for expressing serious astonishment and indignation.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY will report the results of the talks in tomorrow's issue.

KGB's Shebarshin on Relations With Japan

MK0106180993 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 60, 1 Jun 93 (Signed to Press 31 May) p 7

[Interview with Leonid Shebarshin, former chief of KGB First Chief Directorate, by Vyacheslav Pshennikov, published under the "Russian-Japanese Relations: Yet Another Version" column: "Ex-Secret Service Agent Number 1 Warns....;" place and date not given]

[Text] The Russian Federation president's trip to Japan has again not happened. Nonetheless, the problems in bilateral relations, to whose solution the visit was to have contributed, still remain. The official interpretation of the situation by the Russian leadership and its representatives contains too many ambiguities and contradictions to be satisfactory. Therefore, requests to assess the present condition of Russo-Japanese relations have to be addressed to nonofficial persons.

FEDERATSIYA's correspondent interviews Leonid Shebarshin, who in the not so distant past was chief of the First Chief Directorate (FCD) of the USSR KBG—the Soviet foreign intelligence service.

[Pshennikov] Today relations between Russia and Japan are obviously not at their best. Up to now no peace treaty has been signed between them; the territorial dispute is still unresolved, and economic links are being scaled down. How did we find ourselves in this deadlock?

[Shebarshin] Indeed, the present period is complicated. Nonetheless, it is difficult for me to remember whether there ever was a "honeymoon" in relations between our countries. To me, they appear to have been very strained ever since 1904, the time of the Russo-Japanese war. The Portsmouth peace accord not only failed to adjust them, but in fact sowed the seeds of future conflicts which were resolved in a far from impeccable manner in 1945.

To be sure, there were brief spells of warming up when the Soviet Union and Japan sought to reach mutual understanding. A glimmer of light began to emerge in 1956, when there was a hint of a possible resolution of the "territorial issue." Later on, however, by the force of circumstances (which, I am sure, were outside the control of the Russian and the Japanese Governments) bilateral contacts failed to receive sufficient development.

Neither were the prospects for economic cooperation realized, which began to take shape in the sixties. In the early seventies, I recall, even a kind of euphoria appeared over the possible interaction between the Soviet Union and Japan in developing Siberia's natural wealth. Everything seemed to be pointing in favor of mutually beneficial cooperation. On one hand, colossal Siberian natural resources, and on the other, Japan's need for raw materials, the need to apply its know-how, its capital—all that seemed to augur a bright future for our relations. Yet that future never became the present.

No doubt, the present condition is totally unsatisfactory. It does not correspond either to Japan's potential or to the potential of Russia and the CIS.

[Pshennikov] What, in your opinion, are the causes for this difficult situation?

[Shebarshin] I regard as unsubstantiated the position, so persistently maintained by the Japanese leadership, which is based on a linkage between economics and politics. I have reason to believe that any, even the most satisfactory solution of the so-called territorial problem for Japan would far from open the floodgate for Japanese-Russian economic partnership. "The unity of economics and politics" in the form presented by the Japanese leadership appears insincere to me. In actual fact, the Japanese do not at all link the question of the northern territories with the provision of economic assistance for Russia or the development of cooperation with it. I can state this quite confidently since, having worked in the not so distant past in the intelligence service, I have had an opportunity to learn something about Japan's real position.

Such promises on the part of Japan are a kind of lock-pick, a crowbar to break down the "territorial problem." Had they succeeded in resolving it, this would not at all mean any dramatic change in the economic relations between our two countries. The promises themselves are needed only to take advantage of Russia's present weakness, its interest in developing relations with Japan in order to resolve the territorial dispute in its favor, solely in its own favor, without taking Russia's interests into account.

I think that this is a short-sighted position. Such problems cannot be resolved in periods when one country has been weakened and is in crisis. The crisis can pass but the perennial seeds of conflicts will remain. And the implications of this are yet unknown. Territorial problems should be addressed when both sides are in good health, equally strong and equally reasonable. This is when one can count on achieving a stable settlement. Having grabbed something from a sick person, as it were, one can find himself in a very difficult position when that person has recovered.

[Pshennikov] Then the question arises: Does Japan really have deep economic interests in Russia? If it had, surely the Japanese would have been acting differently?

[Shebarshin] Yes, this question also calls for some clarification. We still have the old belief that Japan is interested in our natural resources, primarily in Siberia. The Japanese, however, have already found alternative sources of raw materials and energy. They could possibly get all that from Siberia and the country's Far East at more beneficial economic terms. But the fact is that the problem of cooperation in this region and of developing it at present is not vitally important to Japan.

Yet, I have the impression that if things go on like this, the free niches in the sphere of foreign economic cooperation in Russia and the CIS will be filled up by such robust competitors of Japan as, for example, China and South Korea. It is surprising, but nonetheless a fact, that our market is being fairly intensively and effectively developed by Taiwan.

[Pshennikov] Do you think these countries can really compete with Japan?

[Shebarshin] If it underestimates their economic potential, their capacity for development, it makes a mistake. These are its natural competitors, especially South Korea. As for Taiwan, I believe that in some respects it even surpasses Japan. In its technological level—I state this quite confidently, although not without a share of dilettantism—South Korea, for instance, better responds to Russia's present needs than Japan with its more advanced technology. The conditions on which the Koreans are entering the Russian market are more acceptable for us than the Japanese conditions.

[Pshennikov] In your book "The Hand of Moscow," citing your speech in July 1991, you warned about the possibility of Japan's expansion vis-a'-vis the Soviet Union. What did you mean? Could you say something more definite now, two years later, about the forms it could have assumed?

[Shebarshin] I meant primarily economic and financial expansion. In July 1991, prior to my speech to leading officials of the Russian state security services, and maybe a little earlier, I had the possibility to study materials suggesting that Japan was seriously considering the question of creating a kind of bridgehead in Eastern Europe to launch a peaceful economic "offensive" on Western Europe. That was not just an academic exercise. It was a fairly serious concept among a certain part of the Japanese establishment.

I think that the United States is also feeling the results of this expansion. There is an ongoing trade war between the United States and Japan. We can see that something along these same lines—within a peaceful framework and therefore there can be no fundamental objections—is also happening with respect to the Kuril Islands and the Far East. They are being opened up economically.

The geographical factor, Japan's being cramped on the islands, the foreign political framework within which it exists, on one hand, and its economic and financial might on the other, are coming into conflict. The country is constantly looking for spheres to apply its capital, its technology, new commodity markets, and new sources of raw materials.

[Pshennikov] Do you think the postponement of Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan in the fall of 1992 was connected with the Russian leadership's understanding—similar to yours—of the situation in bilateral relations?

[Shebarshin] I cannot speak for the Russian leadership. Yet I would like to point out that foreign and domestic policy, as often happens, are closely interlinked.

The question of the South Kurils is our internal political question. And I think that the hullabaloo that was raised around it by the Japanese side, those efforts that were undertaken by it, consciously or unconsciously turned this problem, in fact, into the sole subject for discussion during the visit. In reality things presumably were not quite like that. But the public impression was precisely this: Yeltsin is being invited to Japan only in order to acquire the South Kuril islands. You will remember how public opinion rose against any territorial concessions. This once again corroborates my premise that it is impossible to decide such painful issues when one of the sides is in a domestic political crisis, when ruling authority itself is unstable, not confident of itself, when it has yet to fight for its existence.

Those people in the Russian leadership who promised the Japanese that they would give back these islands simply deceived them. These people do not know Russia or Russian public opinion. Exactly who in the Russian Government gave such assurances I will not say, but I know precisely who was going to sell the South Kurils to the Japanese, saying that everything would be perfectly all right.

[Pshennikov] Is there a way out of the deadlock into which Russo-Japanese relations have now come?

[Shebarshin] I think that it would be in the interests of both Japan and of Russia if this unnatural linkage—between politics and economics—were broken. If economic, cultural, and political interaction were to develop (and there are good opportunities for that), a foundation would be gradually created to resolve the problems that have apparently been hampering relations between the two countries. It is hard for me to say what this settlement could entail, but clearly, any problem is decided easier and more painlessly, more satisfactorily for all sides concerned, in conditions of comprehensive cooperation between countries. And it would be difficult for me to cite such historical examples when things were just the opposite.

[Pshennikov] Are there any spheres of collaboration between our countries, in your opinion, where we, as they say, "are doomed to cooperation"?

[Shebarshin] I very much dislike expressions like "we are doomed to cooperation, to success." Lying behind this Gorbachev formula is an approach which has shown that sometimes we are "doomed" to something totally different from what the initiators are hoping.

I think that partnership is beneficial to our two countries in all spheres and naturally, above all, in the economic sphere. The potential for contacts in the cultural sphere is enormous: In Russia there is a great interest in Japanese culture, Japanese history, Japanese traditions. As far as I know, in Japan there is a strong interest in our culture. We could collaborate in a beneficial manner in carrying out joint projects in third countries: The Japanese have wonderful technology and beautiful know-how, while we, as far as I know, have scientific and technological ideas that the Japanese do not have. But I do not know—although I might be wrong—of a single instance when the two states have engaged in any joint projects in third countries.

I would like to hope that positive moves in Russo-Japanese relations will occur yet—if not in the very near future, for example, this fall, then surely in the not so distant future either.

Chile's Aylwin Interviewed Ahead of Visit

PM0106103393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 May 93 First Edition p 7

[Report on interview with Chilean President Patricio Aylwin by RIA correspondent Vladimir Dunayev, especially for IZVESTIYA; place and date not given: "Patricio Aylwin: High Price Paid for 'Shock Therapy'"]

[Text] Patricio Aylwin, president of Chile, is paying an official visit to Moscow at the beginning of June: He is the first Latin American leader to visit our capital since the disintegration of the USSR.

Let us recall that the concepts of the "Chilean experiment" and the "Chilean model" surfaced a number of times in recent years in comments by economists and politicians when discussing the course of our reforms. Despite the undoubted differences in our countries' situations, Chile's experience in overcoming its structural economic crisis and making a peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy is instructive for us, too.

There are no universal remedies for the transition to the market which are valid for all occasions, Aylwin believes. There are a great many factors influencing the speed of the reforms and a very great deal depends on the initial state of the economy. For my part, it would be arrogant to express my opinion of the Russian process, but I have no doubt that what is happening in the former Soviet Union is of worldwide significance because it expresses the desire of the peoples today to seek the most democratic forms of life.

Patricio Aylwin takes a critical view of the economic legacy he inherited from the military regime. While paying tribute to the firmness and consistency with which General Pinochet implemented the liberal model suggested to him by American experts, he believes that Chile paid too high a social price for the "shock" restructuring of its economy. Pinochet's "shock therapy" paralyzed whole sectors of the nation's industry, and unemployment reached 30 percent. By the time of the handover of power to the civilian government the "dirty work" had already been done but the broad working masses were just "outsiders looking in."

Aylwin believes his policy priority to be to compensate for these negative trends by putting forward a model of "just [spravedlivyy] growth" which presupposes the retention of the open economy but with greater state protection for the poorest sections of the population.

The president believes that an equally important area of his work is to strengthen the democratic process, which in Chile is developing in conflicting conditions in which Aylwin, a convinced democrat and celebrated defender of rights, is forced to coexist with a former dictator who retains the post of commander of the ground forces.

In this regard, Aylwin stressed, the democrats have relied on the Chileans' deeply entrenched respect for the law. The results of a plebiscite showed that the tradition of observing the rule of law was binding on the dictatorship too.

True, the constitution itself, which was produced by the old regime, and the composition of parliament prevent Aylwin's team from carrying out their planned transformations in full, although the president considers these difficulties surmountable in time.

For example, there is nothing today hindering the Chilean leadership's desire to pursue a more open foreign policy. In this, sense the rebirth of ties with Russia is regarded as very important by the president. In view of the interest shown by Chilean business in the Russian market, Aylwin has included in his delegation a group of influential entrepreneurs who are hoping for fruitful contacts with our organizations and business people.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Welcomes Visit

LD0106131393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1236 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—"We attach principle importance" to the visit of Chilean President Patricio Aylwin Azocar to Moscow on June 2-5", according to spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

The visit is sure to give a new impetus to the Russian-Chilean dialogue and will become a landmark in Russian relations with Latin America, Jan Burlyai, head of the South and Latin American department of the foreign ministry, told a briefing on Tuesday.

"Our cooperation with Chile on the international arena has a positive balance. We believe it natural because the positions of the two countries are similar on key problems of world politics", he said, adding, however that there is still room for developing bilateral ties in trade, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation, as well as in contacts among businessmen.

"We hope that the visit of President Aylwin to Russia will open new possibilities for practical work in all these directions", Burlyai said.

Defense Ministry Discusses Economic Reform, CFE Cuts

PM0206085193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jun 93 p 1

[Report from Press Office of Russian Federation defense minister: "Russian Federation Defense Ministry Collegium Session"]

[Text] A session of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Collegium was held 31 May to discuss a number of pressing problems pertaining to the life and activity of the Armed Forces.

The session examined, in particular, how the Defense Ministry is carrying out the Russian Federation Government decree on the implementation of economic reform in 1993.

The session's participants stated that the government plan can act as a foundation for surmounting the economic crisis and create a base for Russia's further stable economic growth and for the strengthening of the country's defense capability. It was stressed that the implementation of the decree requires the actions of the Russian Defense Ministry to be closely coordinated with other ministries, state committees, and central organs of state government. The "Statute on Defense Contracts" ["Polozheniye o kontraktatsii po oboronnym zakazam"] now being formulated and shortly to be adopted should facilitate the achievement of this goal. The collegium noted the need for Russian Federation legislative and normative acts to more fully reflect the special features involved in the management of military orders and in defense industry conversion in market economy conditions. It was decided to submit the appropriate proposals to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and Government.

The question of progress made in carrying out the provisions of the CFE Treaty was also discussed.

The members of the collegium stated that the work of implementing the provisions of the treaty among the troops and of cutting back arms and equipment is being carried out in accordance with the approved plans. The arms levels laid down in the treaty for the Russian Federation by and large meet the requisite defense needs for the country's European territory and square with the planned makeup of the Russian Armed Forces as of 1 April 1995.

However, the Defense Ministry Collegium expressed concern that the regional limitations envisaged by the treaty, which fail to take into consideration the fundamental changes in the military-political situation that have occurred on the continent, are in a number of cases forcing Russia to distribute Ground Forces' arms and equipment in the European part of the country without taking account of the interests of its reliable defense.

It was decided that the Russian Federation Defense Ministry would take part in formulating the Federal Program for the Recycling of Arms and Military Equipment Through the Year 2000, which should incorporate in a separate subprogram a targeted program for the reduction, elimination, and recycling of conventional armaments.

Belgian, Russian Officers To Take Part in Exchange Program

LD0106174093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1636 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev and his Belgian counterpart Leo Delcroix agreed on exchange of military officers and cadets who will pass a probation at military schools of the two countries. This decision was passed at the meeting of the defence ministers held on Tuesday at the Russian Defence Ministry within the framework of a Belgian military delegation's official visit to Moscow.

Delcroix noted that while in Brussels, where the NATO headquarters is located, Russian military specialists will have a chance to look more closely into the structures of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Belgian Defence Ministry intends, in turn, to send its cadets to take a special course at Moscow and St. Petersburg military schools. The exchange progamme is to be elaborated and specified during proposed visits by Russian and Belgian ground troops delegations, as well as delegations of war historians.

We are interested in improving bilateral cooperation with the Belgian Defence Ministry and armed forces in many fields, Russian defence minister said. He noted that his present meeting with the Belgian counterpart, a third one already, is to mark a new stage in the development of such relationship.

In the course of their meeting, the two ministers discussed prospects for bilateral cooperation and possible participation of a Russian and a Belgian battalions in the U.N. peacekeeping mission in Yugoslavia. Grachev and Delcroix also tackled disputable issues concerning the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states, the current situation in the Transcaucasus and the Commonwealth of Independent States on the whole.

Kalmykov Meets With German Justice Minister

LD0106162693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Acting Justice Minister Yuriy Kalmykov received German Justice Minister Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger in Moscow today. At another time it might not have been worth mentioning this meeting, but today it has a certain interest. Germany is an established, law-governed state and civic society. Russia is taking only the first steps and is moving, not always painlessly, toward that goal. Ms. Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, who heads a ministry which is in charge of interdepartmental acts and takes an active part in law-making activity, talked about the relationship between the justice bodies at various levels and with the courts. There was an exchange of views concerning problems of division of power in a state. The sides agreed to continue contacts and reached accord on a number of specific measures for further strengthening the links between the two departments in Russia and Germany.

Defense Minister Holds 'Friendly' Talk With Turkish Envoy

PM0106110193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 May 93 p 1

[Report by the Russian defense minister's press bureau: "Meeting in Moscow"]

[Text] Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, received Ayhan Kemal, Turkish ambassador to Russia, 28 May at the latter's request. During the conversation they discussed matters pertaining to cooperation between the two states in many spheres, including the military sphere. In particular, they considered certain practical steps to implement the memorandum on cooperation between the two countries' military departments signed during the Russian defense minister's recent visit to Turkey. They also broached the problem of "hot spots." The participants in the conversation noted the need to find a political solution to conflict situations most speedily in the interests of strengthening world peace and stability. They also discussed other issues of mutual interest. The meeting was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Indian Businessmen Visit, Note Trade Opportunities

PM0106140993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Vasiliy Treskov report: "Indian Businessmen Pleased With Their Trip to Moscow"]

[Text] A week-long visit to Russia by an influential delegation of businessmen from the Confederation of Indian Industrialists, which brings together over 2,500 state and private companies, has just finished.

"Thanks to the Russian reforms, the opportunities for us to cooperate with you have been markedly extended," group leader Dzhamshed Irani [name as transliterated] stated at the end of the visit. "We can now conclude advantageous contracts not just at interstate level, but also between individual entrepreneurs. It is precisely these nongovernmental ties that contain new and unexplored reserves of cooperation. India can assist Russia with its experience in developing small and medium businesses, modernizing and reconstructing Russian enterprises, training business representatives, and setting up joint firms. And of course, India is a traditional supplier of consumer goods to Russia.

Extensive opportunities have also opened up for cooperation in the spheres of metallurgy, motor car manufacture, and agro-industry. The cooperation program in the sphere of tractor building is particularly interesting and promising: India is prepared to supply Russian private farmers with the top-quality minitractors which many of them need."

Constitution Issues

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on Yeltsin Meeting With Judges

PM0206095193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Constitutional Court Press Service report under the "Government" rubric: "Boris Yeltsin's Meeting With Constitutional Court Members"]

[Text] At the request of Constitutional Court members E.M. Ametistov, N.V. Vitruk, A.L. Kononov, T.G. Morshchakova, V.I. Oleynik, and Yu.D. Rudnik, they met with Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin 29 May.

The Constitutional Court members considered it their duty to personally express to the president their viewpoint on the constitutional process in the Russian Federation.

In the course of the meeting the court members spoke out unequivocally in favor of adopting the new Russian Federation Constitution in a legitimate manner: Through the Congress of People's Deputies or a referendum as defined in the present Fundamental Law.

The Constitutional Court members' personal positions with regard to the draft Constitution submitted to them were set out for the president. In particular, with regard to the section on human rights, a wish was expressed that the section prepared by the Congress' Constitutional Commission would be used in its entirety in the final draft.

Appraising the proposal contained in the president's draft to establish a Superior Judicial Office, the court's members expressed the opinion that this institution does not take into consideration the heterogeneity of the judicial branch of power. In effect it is turning into a sort of "court of courts," which has been granted purely administrative powers with regard to the courts of common jurisdiction, the courts of arbitration, the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, and the organs of constitutional oversight of the republics within the Russian Federation. The Superior Judicial Office's powers in effect deprive each branch of judicial power of its independence, which goes against the principle of judges' independence and their subordination to the law alone.

The president invited all members of the Constitutional Court to participate in the work of the Constitutional Conference which opens in the Kremlin 5 June.

Judge Interviewed on Meeting

PM0106112793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jun 93 p 1

[Interview with Judge Ernest Ametistov by Olga Kuchkina; place and date not given: "Constitutional Court Was Split... Who Visited the President on Saturday and Who Did Not"]

[Text] [Kuchkina] At whose initiative was the meeting between the judges and the president held?

[Ametistov] At the judges' initiative.

[Kuchkina] According to what principle did some come and others not?

[Ametistov] Those who wanted to come, came.

[Kuchkina] With what did you go and with what did you return?

[Ametistov] We wanted to raise several questions on the draft constitution. And we raised them, meeting with a very favorable attitude.

[Kuchkina] What dictated the raising of these questions?

[Ametistov] We received an invitation to take part in the constitutional assembly. These questions perturbed us. For instance, I was perturbed by the chapters on human rights, another judge was perturbed by the chapters on court attendance, and so forth. We did not come for nothing.

[Kuchkina] And did the method of adopting the constitution concern you?

[Ametistov] Of course. It was also discussed.

[Kuchkina] Was there talk about how it is essential to use legitimate methods?

[Ametistov] As it happens I believe that since 25 April a new legitimacy has appeared which makes it necessary to adopt a new constitution. I see its adoption as a radical method of implementing the will of the referendum on the implementation of reform. And in this connection all the other existing institutions must fulfill the will of the referendum. They should not be bypassed. And if they do not fulfill the will of the referendum then we must think of other methods.

[Kuchkina] What is your feeling after the visit?

[Ametistov] The feeling that we met with a man who has a quality very important in a leader, to wit the ability to understand what is said to him. He knows how to listen and draw conclusions. I can say definitely because I met with him for the first time. He is ready to accept new ideas and implement them in practice.

Filatov Briefing on Conference Detailed

LD0106132093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1311 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—"The constitutional conference will not turn into constituent," head of the Russian president staff Sergey Filatov assured correspondents in Kremlin today.

He stressed he does not mean to calm down the opposition, but to recall the major aim of the June 5 conference—to elaborate a coordinated text of the constitution and decide on the way of its adoption.

The official noted the constitutional conference will consist of five groups or chambers of representatives. The first one will be federal to include 162 persons—people's deputies, members of the Russian Constitutional Commission, 50 representatives of the Russian president, including "the major part of the Presidential Council", three members of the Russian Academy of Sciences and representatives of 14 parliamentary factions. The second group will include 352 representatives of Federation subjects (heads of republics, with the exception of abstaining Chechen Republic, territories and regions, as well as experts). The third group will be made of representatives of local self-government bodies. The fourth will include leaders of parties, trade unions and public movements and the fifth—businessmen and manufacturers.

All in all, the constitutional conference will involve 762 men. Only two plenary meetings are planned to make the conference efficient—they are scheduled for the first and the last days of work; the rest of time will be spent by conference participants in working groups to coordinate the text of the constitution and submit it to all conference delegates for approval.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin will make a report on the first day of the constitutional conference, and Sergey Alekseyev, an author of the presidential draft, will address the meeting with an analysis of 2,000 amendments to the presidential draft.

The constitutional conference is expected to finish on June 16. Filatov rejected a possibility to consider constitutional drafts parallel to the presidential one at the conference.

A total of 1,080 correspondents want to cover the constitutional conference, still the accreditation is going on. Filatov said they will, possibly, have to curb correspondents' activeness so that they do not "hamper work of commissions".

The presidential staff head does not exclude a possibility that the Congress of People's Deputies will adopts the constitution. However, asked by ITAR-TASS whether deputies still intend to self-dissolve the congress with returning 350-400 mandates, the official answered in the affirmative. Three hundred deputies have signed a statement on their agreement to leave the congress and deny it quorum, if the congress refuses to consider the coordinated draft constitution.

Commenting on the speaker's proposal to announce a referendum to discuss three constitutional drafts—"radical", "parliamentary" and "communist", Filatov said "this is done in the same way as it was with questions of the April referendum, Khasbulatov stakes at defeat of the president". The more drafts are put on referendum, the bigger chance will be to adopt neither of them and stay with the current Constitution, noted the official.

Filatov doubts that the constitutional conference will discuss a draft law on elections. In his opinion, it is more important to agree on principles of future elections—whether the election campaign will be carried out by individuals or party blocs.

Filatov himself favours mixed electoral system to prevent spontaneous formation of parliament factions, but create factions which emerge during the election campaign and supported by the population.

The most acute question of the constitutional conference will be equal rights of republics, territories and regions, the division of power between power branches and the composition of the supreme justice assembly which is to introduce amendments to the constitution and impeach the president, believes Sergey Filatov.

Yeltsin Issues Decree on Constitutional Conference

LD0206123993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1158 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today issued a decree on the procedure of the upcoming constitutional conference. The presidential press service reports that according to the decree the constitutional conference will last from June 5 to June 16, 1993. It will hold its meeting in the Moscow Kremlin.

Members of the working commission set up to finalise the draft constitution of the Russian Federation by the presidential decree of May 12, 1993 "on measures to complete the drafting of a new constitution of the Russian Federation", are participants of the constitutional conference and coordinators of the its [as received] following panels: Of representatives from the federal bodies of state power; of representatives from the state power structures of the republics, territories, regions, autonomous districts, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg; of representatives from self-government bodies; of representatives from political parties, trade unions, youth and other public organisations, movements and religious confessions; of representatives from commodity producers and businessmen.

The decree lays down the conference's procedural rules. The constitutional conference shall work at plenary meetings, panels of representatives and in the working commission from 10 to 18 hours daily.

The plenary meetings will be chaired by the president of the Russian Federation. The panels of representatives will be presided over by coordinators, appointed by the president of the Russian Federation from among members of the working commission. After the completion of the work of panels of representatives, the working commission will finalise the text of the draft constitution with due account of decisions adopted by the panels. Participants of the conference will be consulted by an operational working (expert) team, set up under the working commission.

The full text of the decree and the procedural rules of the constitutional conference will be published later.

National Salvation Front Rally Set for 5 Jun

LD0206135093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1120 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Last night Russian People's Deputy Ilya Vladislavovich Konstantinov came to us and asked us to record his small appeal to electors:

[Begin Konstantinov recording] [passage omitted] On 5 June the National Salvation Front is to hold a demonstration [manifestatsiya] and rally in defense of the existing Constitution and constitutional system, a rally in protest against attempts at usurpation of power by the president and his closest entourage.

We have reached agreement with the Moscow Government on a plan for holding the events on 5 June. From 1000 to 1100 our supporters will gather. For one hour, from 1100 to 1200, a small rally is to be held outside the Belarusian Station. Then we will start moving, first along Tverskaya Street and Sadovoye Koltso to Karetnyy Ryad, along Karetnyy Ryad and Petrovka, coming out at last on Lubyanskaya Ploshchad, where there will be a rally at about 1300 until 1600.

I remind you that all this will be held on 5 June. The events are all agreed. Order is guaranteed and we are sure that it will all go without excesses. [passage omitted] People must not breach public order, throw rubbish, throw things at the militiamen, or use indecent language. Everything else is within the legal limits. [end recording]

I appeal to all who decide to take part in these events: Discipline, decency, restraint are not signs of weakness, rather the reverse.

Democratic Russian Movement Not To Demonstrate 5 Jun

LD0206111593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Report by Valeriy Vinogradov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] It has become known today that the Democratic Russia movement decided not to organize a rally and a demonstration and not to circulate leaflets on 5 June, in order to preserve public peace.

Shakhray Cited on Yeltsin Draft, Conference

PM0106154393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Jun 93 p 1

[Report on interview with Vice Premier Shakhray by unidentified ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent; place and date not given: "Sergey Shakhray: Constitutional Conference Will Examine Just One Draft. The President's"]

[Text] The president's draft constitution is at the basis of the future Russian Constitution, Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray stated with assurance in an interview with ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's correspondent. Preliminary work has been carried out in the regions, and the vice premier himself has toured 50 Federation components. At these meetings, Sergey Shakhray stressed, positions were elucidated, disagreements eliminated, and some compromises reached, and statements were signed in all regions. The final statement of the participants of the conference of heads of kray and oblast administrations has also been signed. Sergey Shakhray would like to single out in it two very important, fundamental factors. The first is that the ideology of the new Russian state has now been consolidated. And now the question "What are we building in Russia?" can be answered sufficiently clearly: The new Russian state is a state with a socially oriented market economy, a federative structure, a democratic political regime based on the power of the people, the separation of powers, and human rights, and with an effective state power based on the principles of a presidential republic, strong parliamentarism, and an independent judiciary.

And second: The trend toward leveling the status of Russian Federation components has been consolidated. Some krays and oblasts are demanding identical status with republics; others understand that this is a gradual process. The leveling of status is already enshrined in the Constitution, Sergey Shakhray believes, but there are bounds which should not transgressed, so as not to destroy the specific features of the nation states within the Russian Federation.

Sergey Shakhray also touched on the question of who should adopt the new constitution after it has passed through the crucible of the Constitutional Conference. The majority of politicians are inclined toward designating a referendum on this question. And even if the Congress of People's Deputies does not support this idea, a referendum can be designated by collecting 1 million signatures or the votes of one-third of the deputy corps, Sergey Shakhray recalled. But I do not personally rule out even the following version of events, Sergey Shakhray continued: The draft constitution could be submitted to the Congress after being initialed by the majority of Federation components and major political forces. The congress would only have the option of saying "yes" or "no," so that amendments to a text already agreed on by Russian Federation components could not be made from the microphones.

Everything now depends on the deputies themselves. If even one-third of the deputies take the firm line that they will no longer take part in these confrontational games, then this option for adopting the constitution is a realistic one, Sergey Shakhray stressed.

Constitutional Conference 'Screenplay' Leaked

PM0106193593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed article under the "Observer" rubric: "Leader's Secret Adviser. Screenplay for Constitutional Conference Ready. Cameras Roll Saturday"]

[Text] We do not know who wrote the recommendations to "nationally elected" Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] that we are publishing below. But we surmise that it could be Gennadiy Eduardovich [Burbulis] on his own or Mikhail Nikiforovich [Poltoranin], Sergey Mikhaylovich [Shakhray], Sergey Aleksandrovich [Filatov], or Vyacheslav Vasilyevich [Kostikov], etc "collectively." Or many of the president's other loyal subjects, who, even though they were not trained in the CPSU Central Committee Party-Organizational Department, have since their pioneer years uttered speeches and slogans in ringing tones to greet congresses and leaders. Quite understandably nostalgic for our organized, pioneer, Komsomol, party childhood, adolescence, and worthy old age, we present for the readers' attention with a sense of involuntary satisfaction a new OPUS (or OPUKS—Osobyy Poryadok Upravleniya Konstitutsionnym Soveshchaniyem [Special Procedure for the Management of the Constitutional Conference]) from the president's well-wishers on the eve of the forum that the president has scheduled for 5 June this year.

And so to the text:

"Boris Nikolayevich!

"I would like to draw your attention to matters pertaining to the tactics for conducting the Constitutional Conference.

"Tactically speaking the opposition's task is to discredit the Constitutional Conference and prove that there is no other means of adopting a constitution than by the Supreme Soviet or the Congress...

"In order to impart political clout to the Constitutional Conference (particularly in public eyes), apart from political actions (enlisting supporters and ensuring a presidential majority), the tactical and organizational aspect is important. **The work of the conference needs to be regulated.**

"Here are a few suggestions.

"1. There must be no room for organizational improvisation. Everything must be planned and strictly controlled from the very outset by the conference secretariat. It is important from the very first moment to set a tone of statesmanship and discipline rather than a political brawl. The overall impression must be that it is not political amateurs who are speaking, but a strong authority (at last).

"2. I think that the president should not take part in all the work of the conference, but only in key moments. Therefore a strong chairman is needed for the Constitutional Conference. S.S. Alekseyev could be just such a figure (a prominent lawyer with an unsullied reputation, renowned Russia-wide, and loyal to the president, for all his acknowledged independent opinions).

"3. The Constitutional Conference is opened by the president with a brief, politically full statement (lasting 10-15 minutes) covering the conference's aims, the state philosophy of the Constitution, the future of Russia, and the main political parameters of the Constitution. All this should be couched in general terms and divided into points for strong emphasis. The president's statement is relayed live by television.

"4. The chairman of the Constitutional Conference speaks after the president. The conference chairman's speech is relayed live on television.

"5. After the president and the chairman of the conference have spoken the plenary session goes into recess. The relay is be terminated. And there must be no statements from microphones. There should be no microphones in the hall at all so as not to provide temptation. There must be no statements made by parties and factions (otherwise an analogy with the Congress will arise and the opposition will start having political hysterics at the microphones). The opposition will purposefully try to create an uncontrollable situation. Provocations designed for press consumption are quite possible...

"8. [number as published] The chairman of the conference submits to the plenary session a coordinated report and recommendations. **There will be no vote.** The report and conclusions are adopted by consensus (general consensus without a vote) in accordance with the rules for adopting complex political decisions in international organizations.

"9. Then comes the president's concluding speech carried live on television.

"10. The conference must be dynamic and short. Procrastination will inevitably lead to a political squabble that will spill over into the press. Lengthy work on the part of the conference will enable the opposition to work out and deploy their tactics. A short conference on the other hand will enable the president's team to impose their tactics. The opinion is that the **conference should not last longer than a week.** The argument being that public opinion has long since been acquainted with the draft constitution and the main forces in society have had a good opportunity for debate. The Constitutional Conference is not a discussion club, but a forum for working out a coordinated decision.

"Under no circumstances must debates be permitted on the conference standing orders. The opposition will immediately take advantage of that and embroil us in protracted petty squabbles. The pace will be lost. The order of the conference must be stated in a few days by presidential edict or directive.

"From the outset the opposition must be put under **time pressure**. They may 'scream' more..."

At this point the text that the editorial office received stops short.

Of course, it grieves us terribly that we may never find out how this remarkable work by a behind-the-scenes organizational bureau ends. After all, as the well-known Shtirlits [fictional spy character] said, it is the last sentence that primarily sticks in your mind.

But there is no point crying over spilt milk. What we do have requires reflection.

Primarily by the participants in the Constitutional Conference, who have been lined up for the role of an all-approving mob led by a "meritorious chairman" S.S. Alekseyev, who added his "honorable" name to the shameful history of the dissolution of the last "legal" Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the preparations for the breakup of the Union.

Well the rest does not need comment. It is all supremely clear.

Lukyanov Denied Right To Participate in Conference

LD0206123793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Former Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov has been denied the right to take part in the constitutional conference opening on 5 June by the apparatus of the president of Russia. According to information from the RIA new agency, the fact that Lukyanov is one of the accused in the State Committee for the State of Emergency case is the reason for the refusal.

Politicians View Khasbulatov's Referendum Proposal

MK0206101093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report under the rubric "Details"]

[Excerpt] Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has proposed putting three draft constitutions to a referendum. According to the parliament leader's opinion, the president has the right to hold a referendum on his own draft, soviets have the right to hold a referendum on their own (with a republican form of government), and socialists and communists on their own, socialist draft. "Do we have the right to deny them (the latter - V.K.) the chance?", the speaker asked rhetorically, and supplied the answer: "I do not like their draft, but they should be given a chance to put it to a referendum."

According to legal experts, the road to a referendum is opened to socialists and communists if they secure a sufficient number of signatures and the congress agrees with them. The same experts think that this hypothetical referendum should be held separately, and it should hardly be thrust on a popularly elected president.

As for Khasbulatov's brilliant idea of three drafts, his deputy Nikolay Ryabov regarded it negatively. "This," he explained, "says beforehand that no constitution will be passed. This path would continue to divide society beforehand no longer into two parts, but into three." Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Supreme Soviet budget committee, pointed out: "Khasbulatov's attempt to put three drafts to a referendum is awfully dangerous. His forming a bloc with the communists is ruinous to Russia." Constitutional Commission Chairman Oleg Rumyantsev disapproves of putting any constitution to a referendum. "Putting three drafts to it," Rumyantsev emphasized, "is even worse. Because splitting up votes in society would undermine the population's trust in the very notion of the fundamental law of the country. Khasbulatov's proposal is apparently a political move in the ongoing struggle. But I think it cannot be the goal at all." [passage omitted]

Regional Conferences Discuss Draft Constitution

PM0206095393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Jun 93 p 1

[Article by Presidential Council Member Leonid Smirnyagin: "Where Does True Federalism Lie? Presidential Council Member Leonid Smirnyagin Reflects on This Question"]

[Text] The leading politicians on the president's side, dispersing among cities and villages, have held several crucial conferences to inform the local public concerning the president's draft constitution.

The composition of the participants of the conferences was varied. At some, individual regions were represented by only the second or third in command, or else both the heads of administration and the leaders of soviets and the president's representatives attended. The conferences developed into discussions of the draft constitution and the adoption of definite decisions. And, to a certain extent, into canvassing for this draft—extremely successful canvassing.

The conferences held in Murmansk and Ryazan ended in the adoption of, I should say, standard draft conclusions. Textually, they almost coincide. They contain criticisms to the effect that the dyarchy must be finished with, that the constitution be adopted as soon as possible, and the desire to participate in the Constitutional Conference is expressed.

However, at some conferences—for example, those held in Irkutsk and Khabarovsk—extremely substantive criticisms were made during the discussion of the draft constitution, criticisms following in the channel of the logic of the president's draft, but supplementing it, in my view, in a rather interesting way. For instance, there was a proposal to analyze the problems of local self-government more thorougly. Or to speak in greater detail about compulsory legislative activity in all republics. For example, edicts and decrees, and perhaps even laws, should be adopted to regulate social life within the framework of the oblast or republic. This, in my view, is a very fundamental criticism, opening up before the local organs of power very great possibilities for political activity, but also imposing great responsibility on them. It is a question of a normal legislative process, which should accord with the Federal Constitution, and at the same time which could prove very effective for the regulation of local social life, taking into account its local peculiarities. This is where true federalism lies. Similar ideas are contained in the president's draft, but are expressed weakly.

The Constitution is a very distinctive document, unique of its kind. It is not just a Law, but the Fundamental Law. It is not adapted so as to have every detail written into it. It should be deliberately streamlined. The Fundamental Law is a long time in the composing, so that subsequently it can be interpreted by application to a specific time. Therefore many proposals from the localities that have been heard at the regional conferences run counter to the peculiarities of this "genre." They try to detail things which should not be considered in the Fundamental Law—there are ordinary legislative acts aplenty.

I would also like to especially note that the republics at these conferences behaved, as a rule, fairly constructively. At the president's separate meetings with the heads of republics and the heads of regions each side expresses its own criticisms, with some insisting on maintaining their privileges, others on making all Federation components equal. At these same conferences the republics discuss the problems of the all-Russian Constitution together with the regions. And they have been addressing their claims to special status directly to the oblasts which, in their turn, are seeking the equalization of rights.

Deputies Urge Colleagues To Avoid 'Confrontation'

PM0106135093 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

["Own information" report: "There Should Be a Single Draft"]

[Text] A conference of Russian people's deputies organized on the initiative of the president's administration to discuss the draft new constitution ended 28 May.

A statement was adopted on the results. It says, in particular, that the task of the conference due to open 5 June should be to prepare a single draft of the new constitution on the basis of that proposed by the president of Russia, and also to formulate a mechanism for its adoption. The deputies stress that in the light of the referendum results the adoption of constitutional decisions cannot be the exclusive right of the Congress. A draft constitution drawn up with the direct participation of various strata of society cannot be allowed to be subjected to amendments at the Congress. It is therefore proposed that it be submitted for examination by an extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies only by the president, after its initialing by a majority of components of the Russian Federation. The Congress would not then be entitled to make any amendments that had not been agreed with the president and the Federation components.

At the same time the conference participants stated that if the Congress follows the path of confrontation they will not participate in its work, and called on their colleagues to follow their example.

Presidential Draft Approved by 60% of Muscovites

LD0206110893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1017 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—Sixty per cent of the Muscovites approve fully or partially the presidential draft of the new Russian constitution. It was completely or in the main approved by 24 per cent of the respondents of a poll carried out by the "Express" Sociological Service. Forty per cent reject it.

"Judging by these figures, many people now thinking over the presidential and parliamentary drafts of the fundamental law tend to believe that the presidential draft should be adopted as the basis for further discussion, because it is a more purposeful, brief and clear-cut version. They reject as absolutely groundless the claims that it does not sufficiently reflect human rights," the newspaper "MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA", whose readers were asked to answer the poll questions, reports today.

The text of the presidential draft was "attentively read" by 83 per cent of the respondents, "glanced through"—by 13 per cent, and "not read at all"—by 4 per cent.

Asked who should adopt the new Russian constitution, 44 per cent of the respondents said that it should be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies, 19 per cent—by the Supreme Soviet, 30 per cent—by a constituent assembly or constitutional conference, 10 per cent—by representatives of the subjects of the Russian

Federation, 17 per cent—by a nation-wide referendum, and 5 per cent—by somebody else.

"Sick and tired of dual power, or, to be more exact, by lack of adequate power and order, the readers are unanimous that a new 'constitution must be adopted urgently and an end must be put to dual power in the country'," the newspaper sums up.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Visits Children's Home; Cited on Conference

LD0106152093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1337 GMT 1 Jun 93

[ITAR-TASS special correspondents Yuriy Solyanikov, Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Excerpts] Kondrovo, Kaluga Oblast, 1 Jun (TASS)—Putting aside his current affairs of state, Boris Yeltsin, Russian president, visited Kondrovo children's home this afternoon, situated 40 kilometers from Kaluga. [passage omitted]

"This morning I did some work. I held a conference on constitutional problems," the president said, answering journalists' questions. "This afternoon I flew out here because I promised to visit this home 18 months ago when it was celebrating its fiftieth anniversary." It was built for children whose parents died at the front during the Second World War. Talking about possible time-frames for the adoption of the new constitution, the president said that "this depends on how we are going to adopt it. The main thing now is to prepare for the constitutional conference. Tomorrow I will sign a decree on the procedure for holding the constitutional conference. We will not permit any idle political talk, like at the Congress. There will be precise, rigid working conditions. First, there will be a plenary session. Next, work will be carried out in six sections on the draft constitution and on developing it. We will take into account the amendments, of which we have already received approximately 1,500. The sections will work until 16 June, when there will be a plenary session, where the draft constitution will be finally agreed upon on a presidential basis". According to the president, during the conference, proposals will be worked out taking into account the opinions of all the members [subyektov] of the federation on how to adopt the constitution. The president gave four possible options for adoption. First, a constituent assembly elected by nationwide ballot; second, at a Congress of People's Deputies; third, at a referendum; and the fourth option is for a law on elections to be adopted, the elections to be held in September, and the new parliament to adopt the new constitution. After his talk with journalists the president inspected the children's home, visited the winter garden and quarters in which residents of various ages live, and met representatives of the administration of the oblast and rayon.

Urges Enterprises To Give Aid

LD0206100193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has called on major Russian enterprises, corporations and private entrepreneurs to allocate part of their profits to the needs of charity, first and foremost for supporting children's homes, hospitals, and homes for the elderly, says an announcement issued today by the press service of the president. The announcement refers to what Boris Yelstin said following his visit yesterday to Kondrovo children's home near Kaluga. A spiritual rebirth of Russia, the president said, is unthinkable without a revival of the kindness so inherent in the character and traditions of Russian citizens.

Yeltsin Aide Predicts Failure for Khasbulatov's Plan

LD0206094893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0913 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow June 2 TASS—The proposal of Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov to submit three draft constitutions to a referendum is an "insidious plan" aimed at splitting the society. However, it will work against the opposition in the final end, according to deputy head of the presidential staff Vyacheslav Volkov.

The plan is an attempt to split the society into supporters of the parliamentary, communist and presidential drafts, he told TASS on Wednesday [2 June].

Volkov predicted that even this "insidious plan" will work against the opposition in the final run as the referendum will have to be held in two stages. The second stage will vote for two most popular drafts and "most Russians will support the presidential constitution in face of a threat of a civil war", he said.

The speeches of parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy at the Tuesday meeting of regional legislators show the "agony of the soviets", according to Volkov.

The speaker and the vice-president, who are the leaders of the opposition, "proceed from a theoretically wrong provision" while claiming that everyone, except them, are liars, criminals, bribe-takers and corrupted officials, he added.

Rutskoy called the Russian president a liar and accused him of committing and economic crime against the people.

Such statements show political incapability of the two leaders who "have no constructive ideas in their arsenal", Volkov commented.

Filatov Says Parliament Wants Confrontation

LD0106134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1142 GMT 1 Jun 93

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Sergey Filatov, the head of the Russian Federation president's administration, views the Supreme Soviet's determined course towards "total isolation" from the executive branch of power with alarm. He also thinks the conference of deputies from all levels which convened today comes under the same heading. At a meeting with journalists, Sergey Filatov noted that if in the past the leaders of the Supreme Soviet had cooperated with the government and presidential structures, now they were set for "on confrontation alone."

Sergey Filatov stressed that many members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet were still in the dark about the "seat of intrigue" which prepared the conference of deputies from all levels and that the subject of the speech at this conference by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, which the head of the administration discovered yesterday, "leaves no doubt about the aggression intended."

Sergey Filatov saw deputy speaker Nikolay Ryabov as the person to act as a "bridge" to strengthen cooperation between the president and the Supreme Soviet. "Deputies who want constructive cooperation are grouping around him," the head of the Russian Federation president's administration noted.

Vice Premier Shumeyko Holds News Conference 2 Jun

LD0206151393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1410 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jun—Twenty-five members of the Russian Government will take part in the work of the constitutional conference, which opens on 5 June, Russian First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko announced at a meeting with journalists today. Four of them—Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, Vice Premiers Sergey Shakhray, Yuriy Yarov, and Vladimir Shumeyko himself—will be coordinators of the sections of the conference.

Speaking of the mechanism of adopting the new constitution, the first vice premier did not rule out the possibility that the Basic Law could be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies. "If the Congress adopts the draft proposed by the constitutional conference overall it will be able to rehabilitate itself historically," he said. "So far we are hoping for this." In the event of the Congress refusing to adopt the draft, Vladimir Shumeyko said, other mechanisms of adoption of the Basic Law will be set to work, among which could be the convening of the constitutional assembly, a referendum, or the adoption of a law on elections with subsequent re-elections of members of Parliament.

Commenting on the possible ways of settling the problem now being discussed of equalization of the rights of the republics and regions of Russia, Vladimir Shumeyko expressed the opinion that at the economic level the rates of remittances to the federal budget by enterprises of all territories should be equalized. "This is one of the most important questions today, and I think the draft new constitution will resolve it," the first vice premier said. He voiced the hope that in the course of the constitutional conference it would prove possible to resolve the question of the political rights of the territories and enshrine this decision in the final draft of the constitution.

Government 'Divided' on Gaydar Return

LD0206152293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1412 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jun— Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, described the question of the possibility of Yegor Gaydar returning to the government as "hanging in mid-air." Speaking before journalists today, he stated that the government is equally divided into proponents and opponents of his return.

Vladimir Shumeyko said the reasons for this situation are "of an administrative nature," and are in no way connected with Yegor Gaydar's personality. He emphasized, incidentally, that the government will not deviate from the economic course main directions which had been worked out when Gaydar was still in the government.

The first deputy prime minister said one should not expect "the cabinet's economic policy to tilt suddenly" after Oleg Lobov joined the government. "This just will not happen," he said. "You know the president well enough; he is not afraid of resolving cadre issues. Should it happen, he will deal with a tilt in a rather decisive manner."

Yeltsin Signs Instruction on Anti-Crime Program

LD0106185493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1743 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has signed an instruction "on measures to organize the elaboration of a state program of enhanced anti-crime measures in 1994-1995", the Presidential Press Service reports today.

Under the document, the Russian Government head is instructed to organize the elaboration of a state program of enhanced anti-crime measures in 1994-1995 and submit its draft to the Russian Security Council for consideration before July 1, 1993.

The interior minister, the minister of security, the minister of defence, the minister of justice, the minister of finance, the minister of foreign economic relations, the foreign minister, head of the State Taxation Service, director of the foreign intelligence, head of the State Customs Committee, head of the State Committee for Anti-Monopoly Policy and Support to New Economic Structures, as well as, on coordination with the Russian Supreme Soviet, heads of Supreme Soviet Committees on Lawfulness, Legal Order and Anti-Crime Measures, Legislation, Defence and Security and the Procurator General are instructed to include in a working group of the Interdepartment Commission of the Security Council their officials and specialists.

Before June 20 they are instructed to submit proposals on the state program of enhanced anti-crime measures in 1994-1995.

Yeltsin Supporters Forming New Political Party

LD0206121893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] The supporters of President Boris Yeltsin are forming a new party—Russia's Union of 25 April. It was on that day that Boris Yeltsin's policy of reforms was supported by the voters at a referendum. Initiators of the new party believe that what Boris Yeltsin and other reformers are doing is being blocked by the old political system and that the time has come for more resolute revolutionary changes. They are likewise convinced that no later than October there will be elections to a new parliament and a new constitution will be ready by that time. The party, Russia's Union of 25 April, should be a very influential force in the coming elections.

Shokhin Comments on Khizha, Poltoranin

MK0106093093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 21, 1 Jun 93 (signed to press 31 May) p 2

[INTERFAX-signed report: "Shokhin: Khizha Has Not Fallen Out of the Cartridge Clip"]

[Text] Russian Federation Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin said that at the moment an active search for a position for former Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha was under way, taking into account the latter's good relations with large enterprise directors. Shokhin emphasized that Georgiy Khizha was "a very energetic person" and that he "has not fallen out of the cartridge clip." According to the deputy prime minister, "the opposition will not succeed in trying to use Khizha's resignation for their propaganda purposes or to win him over."

As for himself, Shokhin said that he would be glad to quit the government, but this would not help the cause. Shokhin explained rumors about his resignation by the fact that he had numerous "friends," including Federal Information Center Chairman Mikhail Poltoranin. "He is trying to do everything possible to knock me out of the government, including informing on me," Shokhin said.

Sheynis Parliament Election Bill Wins Consensus

MK0106115693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 21, 1 Jun 93 (signed to press 31 May) p 2

[Dmitriy Volkov, Yelena Afanaseva report under "Reelections" rubric: "Communists, Patriots, and Democratic Russia United in Drive To Reelect the Others"]

[Text] The parliamentary moderates' bill on the election of deputies has found support among those of extreme views. Viktor Sheynis, leader of the Concord for Progress, has put forward a draft combining the majority and proportional system of elections to federal parliament. Ivan Rybkin, coordinator of Communists of Russia, has stated that this variant "met with understanding in the extreme wings." This, according to Rybkin, is a sign that civilized approaches "are getting through to our long-suffering country." The Communists of Russia, however, will naturally be trying to get draft laws on elections of deputies and president considered simultaneously at the Supreme Soviet Presidium on 7 June.

Communists are supported as usual by the Russia faction, whose leader, Sergey Baburin, has declared: "We are not surprised at the accord in this sense with the extreme democratic wing of the Supreme Soviet. We cannot indeed have different views on traffic rules."

In fact, Leonid Volkov, Democratic Russia representative in parliament, has said that Sheynis' draft is destined to be supported by all deputies whose activities are connected with parties. Its passing would mean that, for the first time in Russia, party activities will provide an opportunity for tangible political dividends.

The bill is also backed by the presidential administration, whose head, Sergey Filatov, has said that it "should become a standard." Ruslan Khasbulatov's attitude to the bill remains unclear. Democratic Russia, at least, fears the speaker may block the bill.

In accordance with the bill, one-half of the lower house of the future parliament is to be formed by independent deputies in single-candidate constituencies, and the other half from party slates with a 3-percent quota. The upper house is to be formed by Russia's constituent republics, "and by other components."

Sheynis' bill gives the regions a considerable margin of advantage. In particular, it envisions an interesting norm—nomination to the upper house may also follow a procedure other than that for the nomination to the lower one, where a candidate is supposed to secure at least 2 percent of the population's signatures in the constituency. A candidate may also get nominated if one-third of the deputies in the corresponding regional soviet vote for this. Remarkably, some of the deputies may be nominated as candidate. Besides, in sparsely populated "components," special single-candidate constituencies for election to the lower house could be created bypassing the 450,000-person threshold requirement.

Supported by the "extreme," the bill has naturally gained opponents in the shape of the faction who call themselves centrist—Smena-New Policy. "Deputies should represent the population," declared Smena leader Andrey Golovin. Supporters of this bill, according to him, "realize that the population will not elect them, and winning a seat via their party is much easier...."

Smena, in its turn, has prepared a whole "election code" that includes a bill on election of the president based on the simple majority system.

According to Leonid Volkov's forecast, the fate of the election draft laws, when they have been submitted to the session, will depend on who presides over the session: "If it is Khasbulatov, the law will not be passed; if it is Ryabov, it will." According to other guesses, their fate will be determined by the way the situation develops—if the Supreme Soviet is left with some alternatives, the session will be presided over by Khasbulatov. If it is left with no alternatives, Ryabov will be in charge.

Shakhray Answers Listeners' Questions

LD0206084493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1505 GMT on 1 June broadcasts a 40-minute recorded program entitled "Around the Kremlin: Letters to Sergey Shakhray," during which Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray answers listeners' questions. The program is announced as a supplement to the "Moment of Truth" program.

During the program Shakhray is asked questions about his life and beliefs by two correspondents, Andrey Karaulov and Arina Sharapova.

Asked if he has a conscience, Shakhray says that he has a conscience, and that he has always managed to live according to it. But surely he is ashamed of what had been done to Russia? Shakhray says that the question is really who has done it to Russia, and when. He continues that, at the beginning of the 1980's, CPSU analysts discovered that all the resources were exhausted. New ways and means had to be found, and perestroyka began. Unfortunately, nothing was done about the economy. Was Russia, therefore, falling apart? Shakhray says no, but stresses that the regions are now seeking additional powers not in order to secede, but in order to preserve Russia.

The next question: Elections have taken place in Chechnya. Have you anything to do with this, and is it true that you, Mr. Shakhray, found common ground with Dudayev and even got on well with him?" After clarifying that the questioner meant the recent referendum in Chechnya, Shakhray replied: "I really did get on well with Dudayev, not through any blood relationship, but because I come from the Caucasus. I live there. I understand the laws of the Caucasus, the customs of the Caucasus, and, in that respect, all the peoples of the Caucasus—the mountain peoples, the Russians, the Cossacks. In that respect, we are all relatives there."

Shakhray is asked whether war in the Caucasus is possible. The peoples there have devised a code by which to live, Shakhray says. His first task is to start a political dialogue, to set the self-regulating mechanisms in motion, and then to deal with the economy. Russian money should not go to those who organize the conflict or to be used to buy arms. But where do the warring sides get the weapons, Shakhray is asked? They arrive by various means, he replies. They are expensive. Most are stolen, but no army officers have yet been charged. Weapons have been stored in the Caucasus for a long time. Wars are common there. The current area of conflict lays on the drug routes.

Does Shakhray have a military background, he is asked? He behaves like a military commander. Shakhray replies that he behaves like a government minister to whom soldiers are subordinate. He has told the soldiers that he is the one who makes the political decisions. It is their job to perform their military duty. A new army is now being created. However, enough recruits cannot be found. Shakhray adds: "If decisive steps are not taken soon, the Army really may collapse." He says that many men do not want to fight in the trouble spots, even for good money.

Shakhray is asked whether he ever served in the army. No, not on active service, he replies. Shakhray regrets that occasionally.

A viewer asks: What is your personal political standpoint in this difficult political situation?

Shakhray replies: "My standpoint is this: Reliance on common sense, a love of Russia, and a love of life. So my political standpoint and program consist in the creation—not by me personally, of course—of a common-sense society, without -isms and decay." Shakhray denies that this is a utopia and adds: "So the question is what are we to rely on? The answer is on ourselves. If a person relies on himself rather than on the state, then he will choose a government and parliamentarians who satisfy him as a master."

In answer to a question, what about your attitude toward the president and toward his policy of compromise, Shakhray says:

"I have a normal relationship with the president. I know his positive and negative traits. We've worked together for virtually three years already with these plusses and minuses. One can work with him."

Shakhray is asked: "Sergey Mikhaylovich, what do you think of the speaker?"

Shakhray replies: "Relations are difficult. I don't know if you have noticed it, but I have never allowed myself to speak of the personal qualities, faults, or unworthy acts of citizen Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, just as I have not spoken, and do not intend to speak or assess, the personal qualities of any other people.

"Let's speak about positions. At this moment of conflict and contradiction between two state types, two state systems, Ruslan Imranovich is fated to be at the head of one of those systems—namely the republics and councils, and he is obliged to live according to the laws of the republics and councils. He is obliged to live according to the laws of the CPSU—by that vertical line, by that system of power, that type of power. And when Ruslan Imranovich was running for chairman of the Supreme Soviet, he kept his balance for some time between the democratic deputies and the right-wing deputies, the Communist faction, and so on. In that balance he really did perform the role of referee. But when he acted in accordance with the logic of the republics and councils—the system abides by its own laws—he put paid to the democratic deputies and came face to face with the faction, the right-wing part of the faction, the spectrum, and he hung in mid-air—not in the literal sense of course, but in the figurative sense—because it turned out that he played an auxiliary and far from noble role in that system. As soon as he stops the conflict or the confrontation with the president, he will no longer be needed by the forces that are supporting him."

Shakhray continues: "At the Ninth Congress, as soon as Ruslan Imranovich tried to demonstrate what he has always seen as belonging to him—the role of leader—as soon as he sensed the mood of the Congress, he did not table the question of impeachment on the very first day, but began to maneuver, and some compromise draft appeared, which he knew about and approved. Yuriy Voronin presided on the next day, impeachment was exhausted right to the end, and Ruslan Imranovich was included on the same voting slip as Boris Nikolayevich, so as to show him his place. In general, the events after 20 March showed that the scenario for ousting the Russian president had been planned so carefully, sometimes even brilliantly, that all these events will feature in many textbooks."

The next question is about corruption: "Sergey Mikhaylovich, you trust the president. But the newspapers report instances of corruption in the highest echelons of power every day. So why, then, can the president and his entourage not stop the process?"

Shakhray replies: "There is a simple scheme, and the only one possible for our country. I know I shall not gain any popularity by answering this question. Nevertheless, I think that the question is vitally important. The fact is that the civil servants must either be turned into allies of reform or, at the very least, their neutrality must be ensured. How is that to be done? It cannot be done by anti-corruption threats or by threats of dismissal. Russian society has to buy the civil servants in the interests of reform by promising—not by promising, but by giving—plots of land and some of the shares in state privatized enterprises, by giving a necessarily big, enormous, pension in anticipation of their good bureaucratic service, and by guaranteeing social protection.

"In exchange for this, two things are required of the civil service: First, that it does not oppose the economic reforms but helps them, because they now coincide in this scheme with the economic interests of the civil service. Second, that in exchange for these benefits which are so unpopular and are so much resisted, two things can be demanded of civil servants: First, the same unregulated pattern of work, and real punishment for corruption; I am sorry, but if you have succumbed even to mere trifles, you lose your pension, you lose your land, you lose your shares. Your children and your family, which you are feeding as a civil servant, will lose out. Only then will instances of corruption and bribery be under the control of criminal jurisdiction. Only then will it be possible to fight and condemn them."

Burbulis Views Domestic Policy Situation

AU0106141493 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 1 Jun 93 p 5

[Interview with Gennadiy Burbulis, former adviser to Russian President Yeltsin, by Burkhard Bischof in Vienna; date not given: "Referendum Was Historic Turning Point"]

[Text] [Bischof] Moscow newspapers describe you as the "gray eminence" in President Yeltsin's staff; the opposition even characterizes you as Yeltsin's "evil spirit." How do you see yourself?

[Burbulis] My political activity has been, and still is, connected with the reform process and I have not given anybody the opportunity to doubt it. My radicalism has always been connected with a clear idea of the complete hopelessness of the Soviet communist system. I have always consistently advocated the creation of new social and political foundations in Russia. Therefore, Burbulis is so dangerous for the opposition.

Regarding the characterization of "gray eminence" by journalists: It reflects my real role in politics. I am participating in the development of long-term political ideas and concepts. I make my assessment, analyze tendencies, and contribute in this way to determining the direction of certain steps of the president and his reform crew. Here, I am guided by the principle that these steps serve the majority of the population.

[Bischof] Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy has indicated that he has documents incriminating you. Are you afraid of a possible publication of such documents?

[Burbulis] I assure you: If the opposition of communists, fascists, and nationalists had only a single paper incriminating me in hand, it would have produced it long ago.

[Bischof] President Yeltsin's picture in the West got some scratches because he seemed to take a zigzag course in his controversy with the legislature: Sometimes he showed preparedness for compromises, sometimes he was tough. In your opinion, has the president made mistakes?

[Burbulis] It is obvious that mistakes were made. However, if these mistakes are analyzed, one sees that they are connected with the president's political nature, they were not made because of superficiality.

Yeltsin tried for a long time to take over two incompatible roles: on the one hand, to be the undisputed leader and motor of the reform movement and, on the other, to fulfill the function of social policy arbiter between the various forces and groups. He believed that he was able to take over both roles without being forced to moderate his strategic course.

However, I find it hard to reproach the president for this. It has always been his main objective to preserve social peace in the country and not to aggravate the conflicts. The fact that we are carrying out such a large-scale reform project without violence and bloodshed today is probably the president's greatest merit. The price was concessions to the opposition.

[Bischof] An omission for which the president is blamed is that he has not yet founded a party of his own that could serve as a political basis of power for him. Why has he not done this?

[Burbulis] Yeltsin simply sees himself as the president of the whole nation, which elected him. And since he knew that he was backed by a broad social basis, he believed to be able to do without a party or association as a basis of power. We had the opportunity to create a dynamic political movement. It is deplorable that we did not use this chance in December 1992.

The situation is completely different today. In the referendum on 25 April it was finally proven to us that we have a stable social basis for our reform policy. Today two parties have developed in Russia: the party of reform and the party of revanchism. I am convinced that in the near future we will be forced to create new political structures, in order to use the political energy shown in the April referendum and to establish a political basis for the president and his crew.

[Bischof] Have the reformers in the government gained ground from the dismissal of Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov?

[Burbulis] Their scope has increased. But this post is still vacant and the further events will depend on who will get there.

[Bischof] Has the struggle for power between the executive and the legislature been decided finally, after the referendum in April?

[Burbulis] So far, the result of the referendum has not yet been acknowledged in the way that it deserves. I am claiming that a period of Russian history came to an end on 25 April. The majority of the active voters said no to the inherited political system and yes to a new Russian state. This is a historic turning point. Thus, the old Soviet system has died and the majority of the active population accepts that.

Today, only the question of tactics is still at issue, for example, the juridically correct implementation of the new constitution, which is finally overcoming the Soviet heritage. We will get the answer at the constituent assembly, which will begin on 5 June.

[Bischof] How strong is the camp of Yeltsin's opponents today? Is the danger of communist-nationalist subversion warded off?

[Burbulis] In the majority of the population, the revanchist desires of the Soviet communist and nationalist forces do not have a basis. However, the politically organized, aggressive, and uncompromising part of the opposition continues to be a great danger to the reform process. One should not overestimate it. However, one should not underestimate the threat that emanates from it either.

Emergence of 'Khasbulatov-Rutskoy Axis' Noted

LD0106211493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Commentary by A. Goncharov, introduced by announcer Svetlana Sorokina; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The results of the conference of people's deputies of all levels, which ended today, called for yet another conclusion, not directly related to the constitutional process. Khasbulatov's and Rutskoy's addresses have shown that dogmatism is alien to our politicians. They are actively looking for new allies, and swiftly changing their stance.

[Goncharov] The conference of people's deputies today became the political opening matinee of a new Khasbulatov-Rutskoy axis.

Using air force parlance, one can say that the vice president was the wingman. It appears that Rutskoy has ultimately given up his old claims to the role of leader of the center and veered abruptly toward political extremism. This is the only possible explanation for the vice president's appeal to the Supreme Soviet to immediately dissolve the government for alleged economic crimes against the people.

As for the opinion of the people themselves, who at the referendum supported the president's policies by a convincing majority, it counts for nothing for Rutskoy, apparently.

Not a single centrist can afford to openly shrug off the results of a nationwide vote, especially a politician who is going to stand for the next presidential elections. It has become evident yet again, after the vice president's speech to the people's deputies today, that there is a frightening void at the center of Russia's present political spectrum.

Communist Party Central Executive Committee Plenum Held

PM0106141193 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Jun 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The third Russian Federation Communist Party Central Executive Committee Plenum was held 29 May. It discussed questions of the political lessons of the referendum and the May events and the party's tasks (keynote speaker G. Zyuganov), the theses and election platform of the Russian Federation Communist Party (Yu. Belov), the party's legislative initiatives in the socioeconomic sphere (G. Kostin), and the attitude toward the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU [UCP-CPSU] (V. Zorkaltsev).

The plenum pointed to the danger of attempts at the unconstitutional adoption of the country's new Fundamental law and dissociated itself from participation in them. At the same time to monitor events and to publicize its own viewpoint it was decided to send an observer without the right to a deciding vote to the constitutional conference which opens 5 June. The theses of the election platform have been recommended for discussion in the party organizations. It has been recommended to the "Communists of Russia" faction and the Central Executive Committee's socioeconomic commission that they embark on the preparation of draft laws on the priority of labor collectives in choosing forms of economic management, on a state currency monopoly, and on social guarantees for the population, and of a draft Supreme Soviet decree on priority measures to support the countryside.

The plenum considered it possible to join the UCP-CPSU as an associate member and formulated the conditions for joining. Only the next Russian Federation Communist Party congress has the right to make the final decision on the subject.

CSCE Trial Chairman Appeals to Supreme Soviet

LD0106202193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1920 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By CRIME PRESS; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—The press service of the Russian Supreme Court's Military Board passed to CRIME PRESS the following report today:

"As it has been reported, when considering the case on the so-called Emergency Committee on May 18, the Supreme Court's Military Board passed a resolution to call the Supreme Soviet's attention to the violations of law on the part of Procurator General Valentin Stepankov and his deputy Y. Lisov and propose to raise the question of provision of independence of state prosecution in the trial.

Deputy Procurator General E. Denisov launched a protest against the resolution, but this fact does not suspend the fulfilment of the court decision. The Military Board has received an answer of First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Y. Voronin, saying a decision on the court appeal would be an interference in the sphere of competence of the court power.

In this connection, Trial Chairman A. Ukolov sent a letter to the Supreme Soviet to call attention to the fact the resolution of the Military Board was addressed directly to the Supreme Soviet as a legislative body, is liable for obligatory consideration and provoked with imperfection of the criminal procedure legislation, which prevents the court from solving the problem by itself. The problem is the following:

Proceeding from basic principles of administering justice, the court, considering a specific case, has the right to take into account opinion voiced by the prosecution only being sure he acts in the interests of lawfulness and not in the interests of some persons.

In order to ensure this assurance and confidence of society in the whole process of administering justice, there is a procedure to challenge judges and procurators, as regards whom there are grounds to believe they are personally interested in the case or have family or other dependence on persons interested in the case. (There is no mentioning of service interest in just solution of the case, as its availability is legitimate).

The Military Board stated the prosecution, involved in the trial, same as other Russian procurators, are in service dependence on V. Stepankov, who together with Y. Lisov has written a book on the accused and became personally interested (including material interest) in the court's confirmation of information and conclusions he cites in his book.

The court has no right to investigate into specific facts of Stepankov's influence on the prosecution in his subordination. It just raises the question of preventing a possibility of such influence and creation of conditions for genuinely independent work of procurators.

The Supreme Soviet decision on the question cannot be viewed as an interference in actions of the court authority, but will create conditions for genuinely independent administering of justice on the complicated and topical case.

At the same time, the Military Board Press Service expressed the wish the above-made statement will be published by mass media without reductions and corrections."

Poll Reveals No-Confidence in Parliament, Cabinet

MK0206094693 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 2

[Oleg Savelyev report under the "Social Barometer" rubric: "Russians on Federation's Leadership"]

[Text] In the second half of May 1993, the All-Russian Public Opinion Studies Center conducted a poll among a representative sample of 1,560 adult residents of Russia.

The breakdown of answers to some of the survey's questions on the confidence in and the attitude to the actions of the Russian leadership is given below in percentage points.

"To what extent does the Supreme Soviet, the Russian Parliament, deserve confidence now?"
Fully deserves—4
Not fully deserves—26
Does not deserve at all—42
Do not know—28

"And what about the government, the Russian Cabinet of Ministers?"
Fully deserves—9
Not fully deserves—35
Does not deserve at all—24
Do not know—32

"Will the Russian leadership be able to stay on in power for the next few months?"
I think yes—51
I think no—17
Do not know—32

"Do you or do you not approve of the foreign policy pursued by the Russian leadership aimed at promoting the disarmament process and limitation of strategic weapons?"
Approve—56
Do not approve—21
Do not know—23

"Will the Russian leadership be able to maintain the Federation's territorial integrity in the next few months?"
I think yes—46
I think no—22
Do not know—32

"What stance do you think should be taken by Russia with regard to conflicts on the territory of the republics of the former USSR?"
Russia should by all means, including the use of military force, ensure peace and order in those countries—13
Russia should by no means interfere in the internal affairs of those countries—63
Do not know—24

Economic Issues

Yeltsin, Enterprise Directors View Reform

LD2805171493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1640 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 28 May—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin had a meeting in the second half of today with directors from major Russian enterprises. This was reported by the Russian Federation president's press service. There was a thorough exchange of views on ways to reform Russian society and the economic and social problems connected with reform.

The meeting discussed problems with credit and monetary policy, and the functioning of the economy during the transitional period. The president informed the directors about the course of the constitutional process. The representatives from the giants of Russian industry firmly supported the president's course towards radical democratization of society and towards reforms. They supported the presidential draft constitution as leading directly to the revival of society and to the solution of the urgent tasks which face the country today.

Yeltsin Discusses Results

LD0206082293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0646 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jun (ITAR-TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has held a working conference in the Kremlin with several members of the government to discuss the results of his meeting with the directors of major Russian industrial enterprises, which took place on 28 May. The conference was attended by Vladimir Shumeyko, Oleg Lobov, Oleg Soskovets, Anatoliy Chubays, and Boris Fedorov, the press secretary of the president of the Russian Federation has said.

Boris Yeltsin advised the government members of the content of his meeting with the directors. Touching upon political aspects, the president stresses that the corps of directors fully supported the reformist policy pursued by the president and the government. The directors also stated that they were resolutely in favor of the draft constitution presented by Boris Yeltsin. In his turn, the president urged the directors of Russia's industrial giants "to be more politically aware, to think about Russia's future, and to see the prospects for the country's economic development behind the present-day economic trends."

The most topical and acute problems in the work of Russia's industrial complex, raised by the representatives of the corps of directors, were discussed at today's conference with the government members. The discussion focused on the inadequacy of the country's financial system and, in particular, on the problem of delayed payments. The president demanded that the whole system of bank settlements be made automatic with the use of equipment produced in this country in the shortest time possible. Tax policy issues were also discussed.

Anxiety was voiced over chronic nonpayment by certain CIS countries to Russian enterprises for the delivered equipment and materials. It is a question of debts amounting to several thousand million rubles, which put Russian producers in a very difficult financial situation. In this connection, the president has spoken pointedly about the need to strongly protect Russia's interests in financial settlements with CIS countries, which in some cases envisaged by law might even mean imposing economic sanctions.

Recalling that, despite the period of crisis, Russia has a vast modern scientific and technical potential, Boris Yeltsin suggested that the government members should work out tactics for a more vigorous policy in the sphere of foreign economic ties. "Through his activities in the field of foreign policy, the president ensures a 'political lobby' for Russia's interests. The government's task, therefore, is to use the favorable political climate to cope with Russia's economic tasks abroad," Boris Yeltsin said.

Chubays Describes Progress of Privatization Process

LD0106133393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1243 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyampolskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—Russian privatisation supremo Anatoliy Chubays is optimistic about the success of privatisation in Russia and said conservative attempts to disrupt it ended in a complete failure.

"Privatisation won definite support of labour collectives and heads of Russian enterprises, while attempts to destroy privatisation by banning voucher auctions by local soviets failed", he told a press conference on Tuesday [1 June].

Chubays, who is also deputy prime minister, promised that privatisation of shops, eateries, everyday services will be over by the end of the year. "Privatisation of small-scale ventures has become irreversible and will be practically completed by the end of the year", he said.

Privatisation of major enterprises also "inspires optimism", according to Chubays who added that "we have no doubts about the success of the privatisation of large-scale ventures". Many of them will float capital by the end of the year and some will become completely privately-owned, he stressed.

But Chubays is pessimistic about statements on economic stabilisation. "I am convinced that there are no grounds for such statements as an economy with over 15 per cent monthly inflation cannot last for long", he said.

"This is not a stable square, but a shaky narrow bridge", Chubays said, adding that a tough financial policy is necessary to save the bridge from collapsing.

Chubays also informed that the oil and gas ministry agreed that its enterprises will float capital for privatisation vouchers.

"We have signed a joint document according to which 30 million privatisation vouchers will be accepted by the Fuel and Energy Ministry at voucher auctions selling the property of the industry", he told TASS.

The auctions will be in full swing early in summer, he added.

Cited on Privatization Opportunities

LD0106160193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1250 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of Russia's State Committee for Management of State Property, assessed the progress of privatization in the republic at a meeting with journalists today.

In his view, privatization is proceeding quite successfully in economic, political and legal terms. Chubays believes that the resistance of those forces that oppose privatization has on the whole been overcome, and that the process cannot now be stopped. Here is an excerpt from Chubays's opening address.

[Begin Chubays recording] The main task for today and for the near future is to give a new impetus to the privatization process. This stand is a matter of principle for the State Committee for Management of State Property, and also for Russia's President Boris Yeltsin.

We have now been presented with an opportunity not just to participate in a harsh political confrontation and to protect privatization from being destroyed. We now have an opportunity to look into the future progress of privatization. We have the opportunity and the duty to work out and prepare major strategic decisions concerning not only the process of transforming enterprises into joint-stock companies as such, not only the privatization process as such, but also the fate of enterprises after the privatization. This is our key task for the next stage, the task we call post-privatization backing for enterprises. To a large extent, it was with this in mind that we conducted the negotiations and the working conference yesterday and today, having invited eminent specialists, experts, and political figures from G-7 countries and from international financial organizations. The conference discussed a well-known proposal to set up a fund to support privatization and restructuring in Russia, using money provided by international financial organizations and G-7 countries. We are talking about a fund that would be unique in size, up to $4 billion. This proposal was put forward a while ago by the U.S.

administration, and was actively backed by President Clinton, who announced a real contribution from the United States to set up this fund.

Our task here was to put forward for discussion sensible mechanisms for the use of these funds. We proceed from the idea that the main task in privatization for the immediate future and the period after that will be to obtain investments, both from abroad and from Russia. [end recording]

Ispravnikov on Ruble Losses, Economic Growth

MK2705122093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No 58, 27 May 93 (signed to press 26 May) p 6

[Interview with Vladimir Ispravnikov, deputy speaker of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, by Lada Lyashenko; place and date not given: "Supreme Economic Council Gives Advice" —first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] This man's path to the chair he is occupying now can well be described as quite usual for our time. Winning a victory in the election of Russian people's deputies in Omsk, he, a professional economist, started working in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's committee on economic reform and property; he was head of a group of authors working on the Law "On Property in the RSFSR." He took part in elaborating virtually all legislative acts on economic reform. Today many people link great hopes with Vladimir Olegovich Ispravnikov's name. He is not only a long-time advocate of a plan to compensate for Russian people's savings bank deposits, but is also the author of one of the most promising programs for the implementation of this much delayed intention. Today, it seems, he has finally been heeded. So, our guest today is Vladimir Ispravnikov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.

[Lyashenko] Vladimir Olegovich, frankly speaking, we have already lost hope of receiving compensation for our accumulated rubles entrusted to the state which overnight turned into kopecks. The latest congress, however, also gave us the last hope by proclaiming the redemption of this huge debt to the people of Russia to be "the first priority task of the state." Yet you must agree that in present-day conditions this is a two-edged sword. On one hand, the state, having liberalized prices, to put it bluntly, robbed the depositors and now has to "return the spoils." On the other hand, new monetary payments will lead to another spiral of inflation. Moreover, where will the money come from? From the budget?

[Ispravnikov] You are right: It is perhaps the most difficult task that is confronting us. In order to prevent another spiral of inflation we immediately abandoned the idea of taking this money from the budget and proposed that the compensation be made ... with state property. In other words, the financial basis for reimbursing deposits should be a fee-charging privatization of part of state property. A competitive sell-off of basic assets will make it possible to restore the populace's deposits within several years. In this process the Russian Savings Bank Sberbank will also be reformed. All forms of state crediting for the national economy are made not via commercial banks but through Sberbank, which remits the accruing sums to the special deposit accounts in proportion to the personal bank deposits as of 1 January 1992. The funds credited to the depositors accounts may not be withdrawn during a certain period. Sberbank will issue interest-bearing securities equal to the value of the sum credited to deposit accounts.

[Lyashenko] How can the depositor use this money?

[Ispravnikov] He is entitled at any moment to acquire part of state property slated for privatization on a non-cash, clearing basis that does not exceed the amount of his deposit recalculated into rubles at a current rate rigidly pegged to price increases. The depositor, however, may also withdraw part of the interest accruing on the deposit. The size of this part will be determined by the sum of credits and interest payments on them returned to Sberbank, as well as the volume of resources received from the privatization of state property. In particular cases, specially provided for by law—such as, for instance, the birth of a baby—the depositor may withdraw not only accrued interest but also the principal sum of the deposit. Upon expiration of the term, which depends on the progress of fee-charging privatization and the share of incomes received from it, all restrictions on using deposits will be lifted.

The proposed mechanism will also contribute to overcoming the economic crisis since the process of reimbursing the deposits will be accompanied by attracting financial resources, including in hard currency, required for restructuring production.

[Lyashenko] Nonetheless, quite recently the Supreme Economic Council, having analyzed five models for possible development of the Russian economy in 1993, came to the conclusion that none of the options "ensures the possibility of overcoming the crisis." How, with this gloomy outlook, do you envision our further economic development?

[Ispravnikov] The most important conclusion that we made after that analysis is that no single direction of reform must be made absolute. A comprehensive approach is called for here. The most urgent task today is to halt the decline of production decline and to stabilize it. To do this, above all, a sound financial and credit policy is required. Credits must be primarily disbursed to those who can work efficiently under the difficult present-day conditions, those who are engaged in expanding production and not making money from intermediary and reselling operations. At present the entrepreneurs are in a very hard position since budget financing has been stopped. In any civilized country an entrepreneur is issued a credit against the pledge of property, but we are not yet ready for this. The prime mover of economic development is efficient interaction between the enterprises and the banks. We do not have this either. Our tax system is obviously not stimulating production growth.

I have always thought and I still think that economic reform must not be confined only to price liberalization, as was the case only recently. What we need—and this is common practice in the rest of the world—is price regulation based on contract-based procedures that have been arrived at via conciliation. We have worked out mechanisms for price formation taking many factors into account, the main ones being world market prices, average wage levels, and social labor efficiency.

[Lyashenko] Vladimir Olegovich, are you not worried by the fact that the Supreme Economic Council is after all a purely advisory body that has no power of legislative initiative, and all of its propositions and advice could be taken note of, as well as quietly shelved?

[Ispravnikov] In other words, is this Council necessary in the first place?

[Lyashenko] Yes, to a certain extent.

[Ispravnikov] I am sure that it is. In any country with developed democratic traditions, as a rule, institutions exist via which the government has the possibility of testing its own decisions. This Council enables the leaders of the country's state bodies to acquaint themselves with the positions of various organizations, and it contributes to a better understanding of the opposition forces. The viewpoints of the most diverse factions, societies, and platforms need to be collated and analyzed, and this is what the Supreme Economic Council is for. The power crisis and the processes of disintegration under way in Russia today are driving the politicians to look for new forms of articulating the interests of various strata of society. Increasingly the idea of forming a national trust government is being aired. I think that a mechanical transfer to the Russian soil of this method of forming a government, which is today used in many developed countries, would be a grave mistake with unpredictable consequences for Russia. Today we are conducting expert-analytical work to ensure the implementation of economic transformations in Russia, preparing proposals on concrete questions of creating legal, economic, and organizational mechanisms for economic reform, providing expert appraisal of the texts of draft laws, edicts, and programs.

[Lyashenko] How are your recommendations received by the Viktor Chernomyrdin government?

[Ispravnikov] Last year we failed to establish any strong links with the government, although the Supreme Economic Council made proposals on adjusting the course of reform. As for Chernomyrdin's government, it seems to me that it is willing to work in contact with us. All our recommendations were immediately communicated to it. The biggest obstacle is the traditional, outdated mentality of nomenklatura officials: If an idea was not born in the government, therefore it is not good enough.

[Lyashenko] Vladimir Olegovich, you have more than once stated that today, owing to the refusal by many regions to remit funds to the federal budget, Russia is on the verge of an economic and political tragedy. How could this crisis be overcome?

[Ispravnikov] In 1992 the imbalance in relations between the Russian Government and the regions on questions of tax payments reached an all-time high. For instance, Tatarstan's debt for 1992 amounted to 90 billion rubles. At the same time six regions in Russia last year received approximately one-third of all subsidies from the budget. This means that an unauthorized redistribution of the national income, created by common efforts, is occurring in favor of the population of certain territories. We lack a coordinated budget and tax policy for the Federation and its components. This is a direct violation of the Federation Treaty. Failure to remit tax allocations is a direct erosion of the unity of the Russian state.

We have analyzed the situation and we believe that one of the basic principles of a coordinated budget and tax policy of Russia is the equality of all the Federation components with respect to the budget, taxes, and finances, excluding any priority or discrimination in this area depending on the status of the Federation components. We have already worked out recommendations in this field.

The Supreme Economic Council can and must today ensure accord among the various politically active strata of society and therefore help successfully deal with economic, social, and cultural problems faced by the peoples of Russia.

Yeltsin Seen Changing Economic Course

MK2805095093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 20, 28 May 93 (signed to press 27 May) p 2

[Rustam Narzikulov report: "President Once Again Led Down the Garden Path. Boris Yeltsin Blames Ruble Exchange Rate For Inflation"]

[Text] The platform speech that Boris Yeltsin gave on 27 May at a Council of Ministers meeting has buried the last hopes that the president would be able to stay within the limits of a chosen strategy at least for a month. What amounted to the president's new eye-opener was his acknowledgement that the "predictable" inflation requires a staged stabilization of the ruble exchange rate, which has become the main inflationary factor. Until now, it was Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko alone who dared to break the evident cause-and-effect relationship between the pace of money issuance and the exchange rate. In his view, in the mysterious Russian economy it is the free-falling ruble that generates the growth in prices and not vice versa. So, Boris Yeltsin, who as early as a month ago threatened to fire the Central Bank chairman ("Gerashchenko! Come 26 April and ..."), says that the "macroeconomic situation will start changing for the better," if the ideas of Russia's chief banker are implemented. The borrowing of ideas from his political opponents is becoming a bad tradition in the president's statements. At the end of April, Mr. Yeltsin for the first time called for "a social market economy" to be created, which had until then been preached by Ruslan Khasbulatov, a great admirer of the Scandinavian model, and what the president himself had formerly vigorously opposed. Therefore, yesterday's statement that the government's chief aim is "to give the economy a stronger social emphasis" was not perceived as novelty.

What is most damaging in Yeltsin's "theoretical" dashing around is not a betrayal of any principles (whether they are good or bad is another matter), but the fact that the head of state, as a person incapable in principle of comparing his slogans of yesterday with his today's actions, is open to brainwashing in the worst sense of the word. Any casual figure having access to the president's body may become his guru. This means that economic policies are not insured against drastic turns and that their sole guarantor is the presence of sound-minded people in the government who still have influence on Yeltsin.

Economics Minister Lobov Interviewed

LD3105210393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1540 GMT 31 May 93

[Interview with Economics Minister Oleg Lobov by announcer Yevgeniy Degtyarenko; place and date not given; from the "Ekho Nedeli" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Degtyarenko] Explain why the price of oil and oil products has remained an idee fixe for the government when they talk about decisive economic change over the past few years. It seems that here lies the path to general prosperity.

[Lobov] First of all this is caused by distortions in our price policy. Let us say that oil products on the internal Russian market cost approximately 30,000 rubles [R] per tonne of oil. At the same time, if you sell oil to Ukraine, that is already R70,000. If you sell it a little further overseas, that will be R100,000 or R120,000; or $1200 a tonne.

So a paradoxical situation arises whereby it is only profitable for enterprises to sell their oil products outside Russia. It is only administrative pressure, quotas, that, as it were, restrain this process. That is, effectively, the market is not working; that is, prices are not working. It follows that we have to come out—I will come back to that. With this correlation of internal and external prices, masses of abuses are possible—you buy at internal prices, these joint enterprises, and sell at a price two or three times greater overseas. [passage omitted]

It is better in this instance to level up world and internal prices. Since we have opened the border, we have made it possible to leave state monopoly behind. But at the same time, we have to balance and compensate, by raising pay, pensions, stipends, grants, and so on. That is, defend each person from price levelling measures.

[Degtyarenko] Last week several publications showed graphs that gave a cheerful picture of industrial stabilization, or even growth. You must know the real picture better. Should we believe our eyes?

[Lobov] I will not call this a period of stabilization or of a stable life. If you say that, plenty of people will smile. When prices continue to rise and the ruble rate continues to fall, you cannot call it stable. We are still in a period of inflation. You can talk about a slowing in production decline, but even that only in distinct sectors; let us say production of washing machines or computers, production of distinct types of goods. Overall the decline by comparison with last year has remained at about 18-20 percent. Some papers thought we had reached last year's level or even a little higher. They understood stabilization as arriving at a level higher than last year's, there were even captions about that; this is not the case. It is simply in comparison with last year the percentage of decline has become a stable percentage of decline; but it has not gone away. The difference, even with a bad last year, is a big one. In comparison with 1990 or 1988, the decline is almost 40 percent. Of course, this is a catastrophic decline.

[Degtyarenko] According to the government Working Center on Economic Reform, the general level of industrial production in May was a little over 65 percent of the same period in 1988. In your opinion, what is the immediate future for the Russian economy?

[Lobov] There is very hard work ahead. This is connected with the fact that in my opinion there is still no specific program for stabilizing the ruble. We have to find a way in the next few months. When we are together, and all the people and leaders understand that this is how we have to operate, you cannot put up prices, when they understand that you have to increase industrial output, put your products out on the market, saturate the market with products, then the economy will develop normally. This is the first task; stabilizing the ruble, as it were. If we succeed in solving it, it will be easier later on. If we succeed in setting up stimuli to productive work for everybody. It is a national program; there cannot be a Russian economy, or a Russia itself, without that. [passage omitted]

[Lobov] I fully support the idea that our budget position should really be aimed at restricting privileges and bottomless credit, that every credit should give a return. That is a very correct policy, you cannot argue with it. But at the same time I say, and I feel people are supporting me more and more, that there can be a way out of the crisis through building, if we let money out via building, that is, by cutting down on uncompleted work, by bringing the material resources that were laid down several years ago into action.

For example, many enterprises purchase foreign equipment now, while $10.5 billion of equipment already purchased lies in storage. Today it is not working. Many facilities only need five or 10 percent of remaining resources, material or financial, to start giving a return. You have to look at that and approach it more boldly, that is, raise production, give an impulse to production, production of goods. They will reduce the money mass and take upon themselves the financial blow, and will, as it were, make it possible to buy these goods, and that means it is a direct way to lowering the price. [passage omitted]

[Degtyarenko] As we have learned, issues to do with the so- called technical credits were discussed at last week's talks with the former fraternal republics of the union. It is very Christian of course, but surely Russia herself needs these thousands of millions?

[Lobov] Yes. You know that for decades the former Soviet economy was built as a single complex where everything is connected. Take production of the Don combine harvester; you cannot do it in Russia alone, many important parts are delivered from Ukraine. Ukraine has introduced its own currency, the coupon; we have our ruble. The coupon and the ruble are nonconvertible currencies. Of course the question of payment comes up. These financial mechanisms have of course not been developed. So far we are using technical credits for this, among other things. But the credit is now set up like a loan, that is, Russia offers credit, for paying for products received, to all CIS countries in order to support economic links. But this is set up like a loan, and loans must be returned. The same agreement has been signed with Uzbekistan.

Questions are being worked out with other countries that have devolved from the former Soviet Union. It is a purely economic process. Of course, we have to try to reduce technical credits as much as possible, and we have to find ways of converting national currencies, and normal functioning of goods [as heard] in a single economic space without customs or duties; this is very important.

Minister Concerned Over Progress of Economic Reform

MK0106090493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 21, 1 Jun 93 (signed to press 31 May) p 2

[Unattributed INTERFAX report: "Social Security Minister Concerned Over Fate of Reform"]

[Text] Russian Federation Social Security Minister Ella Pamfilova has suggested that in the government "there is neither a powerful economic bloc nor a leading ideologue of economic reform." According to her, the cabinet in its present composition has not elaborated any new reform concept and "even Yegor Gaydar's ideas have not received any serious follow-up." Pamfilova expressed her concern lest "the government might turn off the path of reform altogether."

State Property Committee Protests Against Oil Monopolies

MK0106094093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 21, 1 Jun 93 (signed to press 31 May) p 2

[Rustam Narzikulov report: "State Property Committee Intends To Curb the Rights of Oil Companies. State Property Committee's Leadership Dissatisfied With Oil Industry Privatization"]

[Text] According to INTERFAX reports, the Russian State Property Committee has sent a letter to the Fuel and Energy Ministry and the Russian Government, signed by First Deputy Chairman Petr Mostovoy, saying in particular that "materials on bringing to account the officials who participated in the preparation and issuance of the said resolutions have been submitted to the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office and to the judicial authorities." What is meant is the resolutions of the Council of Ministers whereby most of Russia's oil enterprises have been incorporated into three companies: Surgutneftegaz, LUKoil, and YUKOS. The State Property Committee is not content with the procedure for setting up affiliate joint-stock companies, the right to manage which was given to the "big three" (upon reaching agreement with the Fuel and Energy Ministry). Under current legislation, this right is reserved for Anatoliy Chubays' committee. State Property Committee experts believe that it is essential to revoke the provisions of the government resolutions that are at odds with the current legislation—in order to avoid the liquidation of affiliate oil companies that have already been set up or will be set up in the future.

The State Property Committee's decision to take on the Fuel and Energy Ministry, the top chiefs of Surgutneftegaz, LUKoil, and YUKOS, and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, who took a very active part in drawing up the oil industry privatization program, was prompted, among other important reasons, by the strengthening of the State Property Committee's role and the personal standing of Anatoliy Chubays in the executive branch structure. The leaders of the committee have always opposed the privatization of the industry by large production and technological companies, which often cover entire sectors. Attempts of the State Property Committee to counter this, however, often ended in failure. So, on 28 October of last year Petr Mostovoy and A.K. Belousov, chief of the Main Administration of the Privatization of the Fuel and Energy Sector, who argued against including all the gas-producing enterprises into the Gazprom joint-stock company, were punished at the prompting of Viktor Chernomyrdin. Mostovoy and Belousov got away with severe reprimands for "failure to comply with the timetable for the preparation" of the presidential draft edict on transforming Gazprom into a joint-stock company, and the resolution on meting out the punishment was signed by Yegor Gaydar.

Evidently, having already been punished for the attempt to demonopolize the gas sector, Petr Mostovoy would not have dared take on the oil generals and Viktor Chernomyrdin on his own initiative. Apparently, the protest was authorized by Anatoliy Chubays, whose standing has somewhat improved in the president's eyes after the relative success of check auctions in April and May.

Decree on Handling Former USSR's Debts, Assets

PM2805142793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 May 93 First Edition p 4

[Decree No. 459 of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government "On the Signing of Agreements With States that Are Former USSR Republics on the Settlement of Questions of Legal Succession to the Former USSR's External State Debt and Assets," dated 17 May 1993, Moscow and signed by V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government]

[Text] The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government decrees that:

A.N. Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, is to be instructed to hold talks and sign agreements with states that are former USSR republics on the settlement of questions of legal succession to the former USSR's external state debt and assets.

The drafts of the aforementioned agreements are to envisage, in particular, that:

the former USSR's external state debt and assets are as determined in the 4 December 1991 Treaty on Legal Succession to the USSR's External State Debt and Assets, and the shares of the states that are former USSR republics are determnined on the basis of the acutal number of states—members of the former USSR—that signed this Treaty;

the states that are former USSR republics transfer and the Russian Federation assumes the commitment to pay these states' shares of the former USSR's external state debt as of 1 December 1991;

to pay for the part of the external debt for which the states that are former USSR republics are responsible, these states will transfer and the Russian Federation will accept their shares of the former USSR's assets as of 1 December 1991.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government

Exchange Rate Drop Called Sign of 'Utter Collapse'

PM0106123793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 May 93 First Edition p 4

[Ivan Zhagel report: "You Can Buy Only $1 for 1,000 Rubles Now"]

[Text] The most recent auction, held at the Moscow Interbank Foreign Currency Exchange 27 May, yielded the following results: The trading rate was set at a level of 994 rubles [R] to the U.S. dollar (the rate was R960 at the last auction), and the volume of trading stood at $50.7 million. The volume of preliminary applications to sell foreign currency totaled $40.65 million, and the volume of preliminary applications to buy equaled $54.24 million. A total of 54 commercial banks took part in the auction.

Only R6 now separates the dollar exchange rate from the R1,000 mark on the currency exchange. This does not mean anything fundamental anymore, however. It is clear that this boundary—long thought of as unrealistic—will rapidly be crossed during the course of next week. And it is doubtful whether this will cause any major perturbations in parliament, the government, or the Central Bank.

This psychological readiness to accept with complete calm the further humiliation of our national currency is what is most disturbing. After all, R1,000 to the dollar is not just a symbol, but also a testimony to the utter collapse of the financial system. We are standing on the brink of an abyss, but like cowards we avert our eyes, continuing to live beyond our means and pumping the economy full of money that is not backed up by anything.

It is true that agreements were recently reached between the Bank of Russia and the government on the phased reduction of credit emission, and Finance Minister B. Fedorov has put forward an initiative to impose a kind of moratorium on all expenditure that is not accounted for in the budget. But is this not just a voice crying in the wilderness? What we really need to do is take a realistic look at the way things are heading—R2,000 to the dollar?

New Rules for Foreign Bank Registration

MK0106132693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 21, 1 Jun 93 (signed to press 31 May) p 3

[POSTFACTUM report: "Licenses Will Be Granted Only to Major Foreign Banks"]

[Excerpt] Aleksandr Khandruyev, deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, has stated that new rules are being drafted for the registration of foreign banks. They will have to meet tough requirements: Licenses will be granted only to those among the top 100 world banks. They will be required to contribute joint authorized capital of at least 10 to 15 percent of the assets of their resident partners who will not be able to transfer their share to another participant. [passage omitted]

Military Issues

Conference Held on KGB in Moscow 29-30 May

Handover of Archives 'Extremely' Slow

LD2905221993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1620 GMT 29 May 93

[Report by CRIME-PRESS correspondent Pavel Ovchinnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 29 May—Despite the government's decision to transfer the KGB archives to the Russian State Archive, the handover is taking place extremely slowly. Not the least of the reasons for this is that the present Russian authorities are less than enthusiastic. This was the opinion expressed today by the prominent scholar and archivist Arseniy Roginskiy. He was addressing a session of the "KGB and Archives" section of the international conference "KGB: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow," which is currently being held in Moscow.

All KGB documents are to be handed over, except the files of agents of the state security bodies, operational accounts, and materials constituting state secrets. This means that the Security Ministry is required to transfer to the State Archive 70-80 percent of its archive materials. But, says Roginskiy, the work is now hopelessly behind schedule; and it is not just a matter of the quite understandable departmental attitude of the Russian Security Ministry, which is reluctant to part with its treasures. Regrettably, the State Archive itself is taking a very passive stance. Moreover, it does not have adequate material resources to receive and house such a quantity of valuable materials.

He complained that the present Russian authorities are showing less and less interest in the process, since it is a matter of indifference to them whether the documents from the Lubyanka archives are stored in the left-hand "pocket" or the right: in either case, the materials are fully at their disposal. One can take no pleasure at all, says Roginskiy, in the fact that many public bodies have largely lost interest in the transfer. He called upon all persons in positions of responsibility to show real statesmanship in their approach to this important matter.

The conference ends tomorrow.

Ban Proposed on Holding Office

LD3005193993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 30 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At the international conference "KGB Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow", the Democratic Russia movement put forward a proposal to introduce a ban on professions for former CPSU and KGB officials.

[Correspondent L. Ioffe] Can the people who used to be active proponents of totalitarianism take high state offices? In post-Nazi Germany, this question was unambiguously answered in the negative, though not without some help from the victors. In post-Communist Poland, Lithuania, and the Czech Republic, the intention is to do the same. In this country, a draft law on lustration, i.e. banning former top CPSU officials from taking state offices, has been drawn up by Democratic Russia. Today, at the conference "KGB Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," it was read out by Galina Starovoytova":

[Begin Starovoytova recording] All the seconded secretaries at CPSU production and territorial organizations; first, second and third secretaries of rayon, town, city, oblast, and kray committees of the CPSU; staff of the central, republican, and union committees of communist parties that operated until 6 November 1991—for a period of 10 years, the above-listed persons also ought to be banned from activities related to teaching at secondary and higher education institutions. [end recording]

[Ioffe] The law is not meant to cover those persons who are elected in direct ballots.

[Begin Starovoytova recording] If, for instance, a deputy Baburin—if deputy Baburin is a KGB agent and if he is not trying to conceal that fact during the course of his election campaign—and the voters are aware of that and elect him, this is their free choice. [end recording]

[Ioffe] A representative of the Security Ministry noted that it would be more advisable to look at businessmen nominated for high office.

Chairman Interviewed on Results

LD3005221093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 30 May 93

[Interview with Ivanovich Grigoryants, chairman of the steering committee of the second international conference on the "KGB, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" by an unidentified correspondent in Mayak's Moscow studio—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The second international conference on the "KGB, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow" finished in Moscow today. Sergey Ivanovich Grigoryants, chairman of the steering committee of this conference, is here in the studio summing up the results of this conference for Mayak. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Reports appeared during the first day of this second conference that it would disclose some sensations and bring revelations. Have there been any?

[Grigoryants] In fact, there were quite a few of them. Mind-boggling things were reported by people who knew only too well what they were talking about. For example, former KGB Lieutenant Colonel Kichikhin—who was sacked from the KGB by Kryuchkov on 20 August, 1991—speaking about public organizations and, in particular, about the organization of Soviet Germans Revival—which he himself chaperoned [kuriroval] to a great extent, stated in passing that of the 34 board members of this organization, 22 were employed by his department.

[Correspondent] When will the third conference be held, and what problems will it discuss?

[Grigoryants] We expect that the third conference will be held from 1-3 October. We feel that it will be necessary to discuss, among other issues, the question of the KGB and the mass media. This is one problem you and we have in common. We will also discuss the KGB and the economy; we believe this issue to be of equal importance. We will discuss the KGB and culture and maybe the KGB and the Army. We are in two minds about this one still.

Security Official Interviewed

LD3005223993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 30 May 93

[By correspondent Ioffe, including recording of interview with Major General A. Kandaurov of Russian Security Ministry; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Ioffe] A conference entitled "The KGB Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" concluded today. We have asked Major General Kandaurov, director of the public relations center of the Russian Security Ministry, to sum it up.

[Kandaurov, to camera] Our representatives spoke literally in every section. As a representative of the Security Ministry, I cannot say that I am completely satisfied with the development of the discussion, because not everybody is ready to listen to what we have to say, and not everybody shares the viewpoint that we are trying to get across.

[Ioffe] For their part, participants in the conference are quite dissatisfied. They believe that the process of reforming the state security, begun under Bakatin, is now being slowed down. The number of staff of the Ministry has not been cut; however, they were unable to prevent the bloodshed during May Day. Special structures, under new names, are still regulating the work of scientists. There are no clear-cut mechanisms of legal regulation. Here, however, the Ministry has a lot to say:

[Kandaurov] There is no permanent commission, as it were, which could be granted access to the secrets that we have and whose members would take responsibility for such control.

[Ioffe] What unites the organizers of the conference and the Security Ministry staff is that the perception of the subject itself—special services and society—as being closed is disappearing.

[Announcer] During the last day of the work of the conference, the discussion focused on the draft law banning former top CPSU and KGB officials from occupying positions of responsibility in the state apparatus, tabled by Democratic Russia. The draft discussed today leaves next to no chances for the above individuals to be part of the country's leadership. Democratic Russia believes that the only exemption should be granted to those posts which are elected by direct vote.

Military-Technical Policy Council Holds First Meeting

LD2805142593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1357 GMT 28 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS military writer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow May 28 TASS—"Today's most painful and topical issue is budget-financial," head of the council on military-technical policy and First Deputy Russian Defence Minister Andrey Kokoshin told the first council meeting here today.

The council, which was set up under the Defence Ministry in March, 1993, unites over 100 leading arms specialists, scientists, directors of largest defence plants, generals, senior officers and experts from the Russian Armed Forces General Staff, the Interior Ministry and the Ministry of Security.

The new body aims to study long-term aspects of army and navy building and the formation of a rational system of armaments. The military-technical policy of the Defence Ministry results from the military doctrine, operative-strategic plans developed by the General Staff and the general economic policy, said Kokoshin.

According to ministry's experts, the defence complex is running short of money and it is increasingly difficult for the ministry to maintain contract relations with the suppliers. Many enterprises have started to refuse from military orders [as received]. "If these problems are not solved, all efforts to preserve the Russian defence potential may be fruitless," stressed the official.

Nevertheless, the military are trying to control the military-technical situation. The Defence Ministry has curtailed or changed non-promising military-technical programs, sharply reduced the range of military items and begun to work for their unification. The ministry is elaborating a specified program of armaments for a period from 1993 through 2000.

Defense Ministry Meeting Views Current Problems

LD3105224393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1415 GMT 31 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow, 31 May—Today's sitting of the collegium of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry discussed some topical problems of life and activity of the Armed Forces of Russia. The press bureau of the Ministry has informed an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the sitting discussed in particular the fulfillment by the military department of a resolution of the Russian government about the plan of action for the realization of economic reform in 1993.

The sitting noted that the government plan can be a basis for getting over the economic crisis and for creating a basis for further stable economic growth of Russia and for strengthening the defense capacity of the country.

The press bureau said that the fulfillment of clauses of the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe was also discussed. The members of the collegium noted that the work on the realization of the clauses of the treaty regarding troops and reduction of arms and equipment is going on in accordance with approved plans. Levels of arms which have been determined by the treaty for Russia provide, on the whole, for the necessary defense requirements on the European territory of the country and correspond with the planned scenario of the Russian Armed Forces for 1 January 1995.

At the same time the collegium of the Defense Ministry expressed concern over the fact that regional restrictions which have been provided for by the treaty do not take into account radical changes in the military-political situation which have taken place on the continent. In some cases Russia is forced to distribute arms and equipment of the land forces on the territory of the European part of the country without taking into consideration the interests of reliable defense.

The collegium also adopted a decision to the effect that the Russian Defense Ministry will take part in elaborating the federal program for salvage of arms and equipment until the year 2000. A special program of reduction, elimination, and salvage of conventional arms was included in this program as a separate subprogram.

Chemical Weapons Not To Be Destroyed Until 1997

MK2805112693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 28 May 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Kholodov report: "The Fruits of 'Chemicalization'"]

[Text] The fruits of our shock work in the "chemical" sphere—40,000 tonnes of chemical weapons—will remain intact in storage for at least another four years. According to Anatoliy Kuntsevich, chairman of the committee on chemical and biological weapons under the Russian Federation president, after the disintegration of the Union only seven storage facilities are left in Russia. We have no chemical weapons located abroad. Beginning in 1997, much work will be done to eliminate the stocks. The first to be destroyed will be the most "dirty" ones—7,700 tonnes of mustard gas and lewisite on the territory of Saratov Oblast and in Udmurtia, and then 10,000 tonnes of organophosphorus poisonous substances. As they say, everything proceeds according to plan—first we produce and then start thinking whether what we have produced was necessary in the first place, and then wonder why there is no soap in the shops.

Discoveries in Laser 'Super-Technologies' Described

PM0206095593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1125 GMT 24 May 93

[By Aleksandr Fedorovich, presenter of "Science and the Market" section of the "Telemix" program]

[Excerpt] [Fedorovich] The number of lasers is constantly growing and soon there will be more lasers than people on our planet. And indeed there is no sphere now where lasers cannot be used. It is no accident therefore that the next century is viewed as the laser age. Only time will tell whether this view is correct. But there is a lot of evidence to support this forecast.

Take for example scientific discoveries which have a great untapped application potential. They include a discovery made by scientists at Moscow's Lebedev Physics Institute. A ruby laser was used in the experiments. Scientists discovered that optical signals were displaying a surprising property, which they were later to dub "miracle mirror." It appeared that it reflected light not as usual, that is to say "angle of incidence equals angle of reflection," but in exactly the opposite direction. This is how the phenomenon of the reversal of the wave front of light [obrashcheniye volnovogo fronta sveta] was discovered. To begin with, fellow-scientists shrugged their shoulders while the authors of the experiment waited for recognition. And it did come. The mirror sensation burst on the scene 10 years ago, and it has still not subsided. Incidentally, between 250 and 300 scientific papers are published on this topic in the world every year.

The discovery spawned a mass of developments which acquired the status of "super-technologies." Powerful laser installations were built which can be used not only for metal welding but also for tackling the problem of laser thermonuclear synthesis. The "miracle mirror" also found application in photolithography. This gave rise to electronic microcircuits with submicron structures. This means hundreds of thousands of memory bits on a one-centimeter crystal. The "miracle mirror" has a promising future—from industrial lasers to the transmission of energy over great distances, for example from the Earth to artificial satellites. Alas, there are no such plans in our country. This is because we do not have a laser industry. [passage omitted]

Yeltsin Edict on Civil Defense Summarized

PM0106144193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 May 93 p2

[Commentary by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Sergeyev: "Civil Defense: Awaiting a Law"]

[Text] The president of the Russian Federation has issued Edict No. 643 "On Civil Defense." The head of state's attention to civil defense matters is understandable. The political and economic transformations taking place in our country, the absence of the necessary legislative and normative acts concerning civil defense, and the formation of new market economic and production structures, which do not provide for creating subdivisions or appointing persons responsible for the planning and implementation of civil defense measures, have led to a situation where the civil defense system in a number of ministries and departments is, quite simply, falling apart. In these conditions, it is very important to prevent the possibility of civil defense collapsing completely as a system before the adoption of the Russian Federation Law "On Civil Defense," which is now being considered in the Council of Ministers.

It must also be taken into account that no one has relieved civil defense of the responsibility of implementing measures in the event of war. Article 23 of the "Law on Defense" states: "Civil defense is organized in order to protect the civilian population and national economic installations against dangers arising during hostilities." This being the case, the edict stipulates that, pending the adoption of new Russian Federation legislation regulating the implementation of civil defense in the Russian Federation, all heads of bodies of executive authority in Russian Federation republics, krays, oblasts, autonomous formations, rayons, cities, ministries, departments, institutions, organizations, and enterprises, regardless of their form of ownership, are to be guided by previous normative acts on this matter, including normative acts passed by the former USSR, provided they do not conflict with current Russian Federation legislation.

The edict legalizes the provision that overall leadership of civil defense in the Russian Federation is the responsibility of the chairman of the Council of Ministers—the Government of the Russian Federation. It establishes that the chairman of the Council of Ministers—the Government of the Russian Federation, holds the office of chief of civil defense, and that the chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Affairs of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Elimination of the Consequences of Natural Disasters is his first deputy. Leadership of civil defense in Russian Federation republics, krays, oblasts, autonomous formations, rayons, cities, ministries, departments, institutions, organizations, and enterprises, again irrespective of their form of ownership, is the responsibility of the heads of bodies of executive authority, ministries, departments, institutions, and enterprises in question. In other words, ministers and plant directors are chiefs of civil defense and carry personal responsibility for organizing and implementing civil defense measures; setting up new and maintaining existing funds of individual and collective means of defense and other civil defense property; and training and instructing personnel and the general population in the action to be taken in emergency situations in territories and installations within their jurisdiction.

According to the edict, the civil defense staffs of Russian Federation republics, krays, oblasts, autonomous formations, rayons, and cities are to be transformed in their present size into staffs responsible for civil defense matters and emergency situations. This is not simply a change of name. In the opinion of Colonel Vyacheslav Novozhilov, head of the State Committee for Emergency Situations administration responsible for Russia's early warning system and actions in emergency situations, transforming civil defense staffs into staffs for civil defense matters and emergency situations will make it possible to assign to them in full the task of dealing with emergency situations in peacetime, as stipulated by the corresponding statute approved by Russian Federation Government decree no. 261 of 18 April 1992.

It so happens that far from everyone responsible for drawing up civil defense plans has been doing so recently. The edict specifically indicates who should draw up these plans and by what date. In particular, the State Committee for Emergency Situations must organize the drafting of civil defense plans by 1 June 1993 in Russian Federation republics, krays, oblasts, autonomous formations, rayons, cities, ministries, departments, associations, institutions, and enterprises. The Russian Federation civil defense plan must be submitted to the Russian president for approval by 1 August 1993.

And the last point. It is two years since civil defense forces were removed from the Armed Forces' jurisdiction and placed under the State Committee for Emergency Situations. Consequently, both their status and function have somewhat changed. In this connection, the edict stipulates that a draft Statute on the Russian Federation Civil Defense Forces be drawn up within three months and submitted for approval to the Council of Ministers—the Government of the Russian Federation.

Media Issues

Court Calls Poltoranin Statement 'Incitement' to Crime

LD2905095993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0730 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] The press service of the Constitutional Court yesterday issued a statement saying that a call by Mikhail

Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Center, to ignore the Constitutional Court, whose decision had upheld the constitutionality of the decision by the legislative authority on the abolition of the Information Center, was given publicity by ITAR-TASS on 27 May. In the opinion of the press service, Poltoranin's pronouncement can be defined as incitement to commit the crime of not fulfilling the decision of the bodies of state power, which according to Russian legislation is punishable under criminal law. This information was given out via RIA.

Court Press Service Report

PM0206094993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Constitutional Court Press Service report under the "Government" rubric: "Unlike Bender Poltoranin Does Not Respect Criminal Code"]

[Text] On 27 May 1993 the ITAR-TASS news agency circulated a piece by its correspondent L. Aleksandrova entitled "Mikhail Poltoranin Considers Constitutional Court's Decision on Mass Media To Be Purely Political Act and Will Not Have any Practical Consequences."

In effect the item publicized an appeal by M. Poltoranin, leader of the Federal Information Center, to "ignore" the decisions of the Constitutional Court which has confirmed through its decree that the decision of the legislative branch of power to abolish the Federal Information Center is constitutional. By doing this the official is publicly calling for noncompliance with the requirements of Article 8 of the Law on the Constitutional Court, which establishes that the Constitutional Court's decisions are mandatory throughout the Russian Federation's territory for all organs of state power.

At present the Constitutional Court Press Service is studying the possible ways of reacting from a legal point of view to the situation which has arisen in connection with the use of the mass media to commit acts punishable under criminal law.

Court Clarifies Ruling

PM0106163593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition p 4

[Constitutional Court Press Service report under "Commentary" rubric: "Congress Decree Is Constitutional"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Constitutional Court has been receiving requests to clarify whether, in connection with the adoption of the Constitutional Court decree in the case of verification of the constitutionality of the 29 March 1993 decree of the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies "On Measures To Guarantee Freedom of Speech in State Television and Radio Broadcasting and in the Information Services," the Congress of People's Deputies decree has been repealed.

First of all it is necessary to point out that in accordance with Article 57 of the Law on the Constitutional Court a legislative act can be verified for compliance with the Constitution both as a whole and in its separate parts. The Constitutional Court followed the second route and studied each point of the decree.

Questions have also been elicited by the fact that a number of points in the congress decree were deemed constitutional in terms of their content but unconstitutional in terms of the procedure of their adoption and publication.

Those points of the congress decree which in terms of their content or the procedure of their adoption were deemed not to comply with the Russian Federation Constitution do not possess any legal force, that is, they are null and void.

A number of questions pertain to the fate of the Federal Information Center and the observers councils.

By deeming the second part of Point 1 of the congress decree to be constitutional, the Constitutional Court thereby confirmed the legality of the congress decision to abolish the Russian Federal Information Center and the "Rossiya" Federal Television and Radio Broadcasting Service.

As concerns the creation by the representative organs of state power of observers councils to safeguard freedom of speech in state television and radio broadcasting, the Constitutional Court decided neither "for" nor "against" them, halting proceedings with reference to Point 3 of the decree in view of the indeterminacy of its juridical content and, consequently, the inadmissibility of petitioning.

The Russian Federation Constitutional Court, by confirming the congress's authority to repeal the president's edict on the Federal Information Center, proceeded from the fact that in accordance with Article 104 of the Russian Federation Constitution, the congress possesses such a right. This, however, does not mean that the Constitutional Court considers this right of the congress to be unconditional: It cannot be divorced from the basic provisions of the Fundamental Law on the separation of powers (Articles 1 and 3).

In other words, the congress is empowered to repeal the president's edicts only when the norms they contain overstep the limits of the powers of the executive branch. The president's proposals to form new departments (for example, that same Federal Information Center) must in accordance with Article 121/5 of the Constitution be submitted to the Russian Supreme Soviet. In the given case this was not done.

Fedotov Calls For Law To Guarantee Media Independence

LD2905100193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] The Constitutional Court's decision on the Ninth Congress's resolution on measures to ensure freedom of speech on state radio and television and in news services should not be seen as a defeat for the plaintiff. That is the view of Mikhail Fedotov, Russia's minister of the press and information.

In a telephone interview with our correspondent, the minister said that even the half-hearted decision on the supervision councils suits him, since these councils can exist only if their activities do not run counter to the law on the mass media, and this rules out censorship and pressure on the fourth estate.

Mikhail Fedotov also stressed that the most important thing seems to him to be the rapid adoption of a law on state radio and television broadcasting, which would enable the independence of the radio and television from all branches of power to be juridically consolidated. In the minister's opinion, the media can depend only on the taxpayers.

Press Minister Fedotov Holds News Conference

LD3105124893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1156 GMT 31 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow May 31 TASS—Russian Minister for the Press and Information Mikhail Fedotov has described a resolution on the Federal Information Centre (FIC) passed by the Constitutional Court (CC) "as another confirmation of the absolute autocracy of the Congress of People's Deputies."

Addressing a news conference, devoted to the results of CC discussion of problems of television, the minister said that "the CC was contradicting itself by interpreting the Constitution disregarding the principle of the division of powers."

The minister said that he was not satisfied with CC resolutions from the legal point of view and expressed the opinion that "from the practical point of view, freedom of speech and information on radio and television has been protected for the time being."

Chairman of the State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, Oleg Poptsov, believes that the mass media, like the Constitutional Court, became hostages of the confrontation between the two powers. After reading out a draft resolution on Federal Monitoring Council, Poptsov said that this council poses a threat of dictatorship, super-monopoly and censorship."

People's Deputy Igor Yeremin believes that "the authors of these documents have placed the last minute's political expediency above law." First Deputy Chairman of Ostankino Television Company, Valentin Lazutkin, believes that the monopoly on the mass media is one of the elements of the totalitarian system. According to Lazutkin, a way out is the adoption of civilized legislature by the parliament on problems of regulating television and radio broadcasts.

Comment on Court Ruling on Control of Airwaves

PM0106095793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Leonid Nikitinskiy of NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA: "Russian Federation Constitutional Court Supports Soviets' Bid for Airwaves"]

[Text] The notorious Congress of People's Deputies decree of 29 March with the crafty title "On Measures To Ensure Freedom of Speech on State Television and Radio and in Information Services" has been discussed in the Constitutional Court for nearly a week.

One would have expected the courtroom to be filled with an unprecedented tide of reporters, concerned for the fate of their own rights and freedoms. But the future of free speech was decided in the virtual absence of any journalists in an empty courtroom, and the fate of television was decided in the presence of a single bored television camera in the lobby, which seemed to have gotten there by accident.

It is possible that this is connected with the humble realization by the veterans of glasnost that it is a case of six of one and half a dozen of the other, and is not so fundamentally important as the question of who will be keeping them on a tight leash: Yeltsin or Khasbulatov.

The party contesting the Congress's decision and fighting for freedom of speech, which was represented by Press Minister Mikhail Fedotov, did not manage to secure the repeal of the decision by which the Congress abolished the Federal Information Center. The Constitutional Court ruled that the Congress has the right to repeal the relevant presidential edict, which, moreover, was not agreed with the Supreme Soviet in respect of budgetary provision for the Federal Information Center.

The Constitutional Court agreed with the bid made by the soviets to henceforth be cofounders—alongside the executive power structures—of the state television and radio companies and participate in hiring and firing the directors of these companies.

Regarding the establishment of "observer councils to ensure freedom of speech" in state television and radio, the Constitutional Court deemed this point to be too vague and hitherto unrealized, and therefore refused to consider it from the juridical standpoint. This means that the observer councils can be established, but it does not immediately mean they will play the role of political censor in television and radio.

If we consider the Constitutional Court's decision from the viewpoint of the political conflict between the two branches of power, it should be stated that having lost a previous lawsuit over IZVESTIYA, the soviets have retrieved their losses with the "Ostankino" affair. Whereas Deputy Astafyev was unable to storm "Ostankino" last year, today in the Constitutional Court he is waging the struggle for the airwaves in a far more civilized and successful manner. The soviets' victory looks all the more appreciable for the fact that IZVESTIYA received only the moral support of the Constitutional Court, whereas its property suit with the soviets is still awaiting a decision from the organs of state arbitration, and the "verdict" in the case of "Ostankino" and other state television and radio companies threatens to yield more visible and bitter fruits for the journalists.

What seems in the Constitutional Court's decision to be a smooth and fair compromise between the first and second estates and their right to control the so-called fourth estate is in practice more likely to lead to the seizure of the airwaves by officials of the latter rather than the former, by "Khasbulatovites" or "Ryabovites" rather than "Yeltsinites."

Well then, the era of ephemeral openness and semi-freedom of speech accomplished by journalists at the state's expense and using state equipment seems to be over: The boss has woken up. Generally speaking, this is quite logical: Everyone must pay for freedom out of his own pocket. If there is something in his pocket, of course. The only guarantee of freedom of speech lies in emerging from state tutelage, which also applies to journalists of the so-called electronic press.

Paper Apologizes for Printing 'Rough Draft'

MK2905093093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 May 93 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report published under "Scandal" rubric: "Fake, 'Rough Draft,' Unsigned Document.... On the Question of Authenticity of the Statement by the Heads of Republics Published by NG on 27 May"]

[Excerpts] The statement by the 16 Russian Federation republics published on 27 May in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has aroused a storm of denials and refutations. Sergey Filatov, chief of the Russian Federation president's administration, in an interview with IZVESTIYA (No. 99) has described this publication as "a crude fake." Later on Yeltsin's press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov clarified that the text of the document is authentic but that "the heads of the republics refused to put their signatures under it." Moreover, the presidential press service noted that NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA talks about the statement as "allegedly being adopted at the meeting." We would like to stress that our publications were concerned not with a statement by the Council of Heads of Republics but a statement by the heads of republics. The difference between these two terms is the same as between an appeal from a group of deputies and an appeal from the Supreme Soviet. Furthermore, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA wrote that the political statement was adopted "prior to the session of the Council of Heads of Republics." The editors received its text from one of the council members and no other permission is required for its publication under the law on the press. As for its being a "fake," below we publish a facsimile of the signatures of the 16 republican heads. [passage omitted]

Refutation

P.S. The following document has arrived at NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA:

"In connection with the publication in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA No. 97 on 27 May 1993 of an account of the statement by 16 heads of republics of the Russian Federation, we deem it necessary to state the following.

"The published document was prepared on the eve of the conference of heads of republics as a first reaction to a preliminary outline of the conference draft resolution. The main document presented to the conference and circulated among its participants on the morning of 26 May was prepared carefully with the participation of representatives of the republics and with due account for the remarks made earlier. It was that final draft statement that was considered by the heads of republics as an official document and was approved by them.

"Therefore the republican leaders did not give permission for the publication of the preliminary document, deeming it invalid following the adoption of the official statement on the same issue.

"A newspaper laying claim to the status of an objective and serious publication should not for the sake of a quick sensation have published material on the most acute political issue without prior coordination with heads of the republics or their representatives."

The text of the refutation is signed by M. Magomedov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Dagestan Republic; V. Guslyannikov, president of the Mordova SSR; coordinated with R. Aushev, president of the Ingush republic and with permanent representatives of the republics incorporated into the Russian Federation under the Russian Federation president:

A. Asochakov (Republic of Khakassia),

A. Kabayev (Republic of Tuva),

N. Kochurin (Republic of Komi),

A. Manzyrov (Republic of Altay),

A. Cherkesov (Kabardino-Balkar republic),

P. Shevotsukov (Republic of Adygeya).

Criticized for Unauthorized Document

PM0106113593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report: "Tough Reaction to False Publications"]

[Text] On 27 May the Russian President's press service issued a rebuttal signed by the presidents of Ingushetia and Mordovia, the chairman of the Dagestan Supreme Soviet, and the permanent representatives (under the president) of the republics within the Russian Federation—in all, 14 signatures.

The appearance of the document is connected with the publication in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA of a statement from the Council of the Heads of the Republics which is described in the rebuttal as a "first reaction to the preliminary sketches of the draft decision of the conference." In fact the final version is being viewed as the official document. The rebuttal stresses in particular that the leaders of the republics did not authorize the publication of the preliminary document, which lost its force after the adoption of the official version. In this regard NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA is told: "A newspaper which claims to be an objective and serious publication should not publish material on a most acute political question with such haste for the sake of a scoop..."

The president's press service has sent NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA a letter which in addition to this incident mentions an earlier one also connected with the "casual treatment of official information"—in this case the publication of a statement by the Supreme Soviet chairmen of the republics, better known as the "statement of the eleven" who allegedly spoke out against the president's draft constitution. However, no one has seen a signed version of this statement either, the message from the president's press service to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's chief editor says.

Such a fast and tough reaction to the distortion of the results of official sessions and the publication of apocryphal documents can be explained by the fact that Russia is in a state of prolonged political crisis. The adoption of a new Constitution in conditions of an implacable confrontation between the representative and the executive powers lends this crisis an acute and dangerous character.

In conversation with me on 27 May Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray called these publications an attempt to save the power of the Soviets. Assessing the political situation, he stressed the particular role of the Russian republics in the constitutional process: "The content of the Constitution now depends on their position." In his opinion, since the referendum the president has tried to find a "soft solution to the constitutional crisis" through the accelerated adoption of the new Constitution and elections to the new parliament based on that constitution.

The Supreme Soviet, however, which remains a "hardline communist vertical power structure [vertikal]," will do everything it can to slow down the adoption of the Constitution including "utilizing" the Russian republics "in its games."

Supreme Soviet

More on All-Russia Conference of People's Deputies

Conference Issues Appeal

LD0106170893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1604 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Jun—The constitution "should be adopted by constitutional means. Any conferences to discuss draft constitutions of the Russian Federation can only have the status of a consultative body only," says an appeal by the participants in the all-Russian conference of people's deputies of soviets of all levels to Russian citizens.

The document summed up the discussions at today's meeting, which was attended by more than 2,000 deputies of soviets, including about 300 Russian people's deputies who are permanent members of the Supreme Soviet.

Some speakers voiced the view that the Russian president is imposing his draft constitution on society. There were calls, however, to use the conference which is being convened by the president in order to develop a draft basic law which would consolidate rather than split society. Nadezhda Lisitsina, deputy from Novgorod, proposed to "reject the emotional outbursts which occurred in the hall and to take on board constructive remarks." She said she was "upset" by certain pronouncements by the Supreme Soviet chairman and the vice president.

Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, spoke against fanning up confrontation between branches of authority. "The president and the parliament should show respect for the results of the referendum and amend their policy," he stressed. In his view, if representatives of all the authorities and subjects of the federation attend the constitutional conference, this could become a solution to the situation that has come about. Nikolay Ryabov stressed that the basic law should be adopted by constitutional means and a mechanism for it should be developed at the congress of Russian people's deputies.

The participants in the conference will meet the authors of all the published draft new constitutions on 2 June.

Khasbulatov Asserts Soviets' Role

LD0106215693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1935 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Speech by Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov at Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 1 June; from the "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet" program—recorded]

[Text] [Chairman Voronin] Permit me to give the floor to Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, for a report on enhancing the role of the soviets of people's deputies in the process of preparing and adopting a new Russian Federation constitution.

[Khasbulatov] Esteemed members of the conference, we have assembled at an extremely difficult and even critical moment in the history of our state. You who are in this hall are well aware of the intensive and blanket campaign against the bodies of representative power of the soviets of all levels that has been under way [applause] and the light in which the government-controlled media, primarily television and radio, show deputies. A stereotype according to which the soviets have turned into a reactionary conservative brake on the ongoing radical reforms is being hammered into people's minds day and night.

Centuries of experience of mankind and our Russian history have proven that, far from solving any problems, dictatorship eventually leads to a national tragedy and throws the people not decades but centuries back to the darkest and most savage middle ages. This is especially true for the Russian Federation which is a huge federal country where any attempt to impose the center's will on regions, local authorities, and the people by crude force is inevitably doomed to fail, with the most catastrophic results.

We will not and should not permit such a development of events in our state. We have gathered here today in order to talk about the problems which exist in reality, and the country's future directly depends on how they are solved. We should seriously and specifically understand what should be done in the first place, what our real possibilities are, how we can cope with numerous and various difficulties, and what should be rejected.

Of course, each region has its own special characteristics which must definitely be taken into account, we must not try to treat them all the same way. But on the other hand, there are problems and tasks common to all. At this conference we could have exchanged opinions and experience and made the necessary conclusions, both for local representative power and at the level of the Supreme Soviet.

It is extremely important that we establish an effective mechanism for cooperation between the federal parliament and local soviets, on which, you understand, many basic problems depend, and right here. If we are to talk about the real situation, than the soviets not only lack the celebrated omnipotence everyone talks about today, they do not even have the traditional, more or less proper functions which municipalities and communes of civilized or, as you like, democratic countries have practiced for centuries. I'll list only the main forms of activity of the bodies of representative power, without which any successful implementation of reform is simply impossible, and is excluded:

First of all, soviets are called on to create their own specific social stability during reforms, to provide support for them through broad strata of the population, without which, of course, any transformation would simply be doomed to failure. Any plans or measures intended by the executive should go through the representative bodies for a kind of additional, independent expert analysis, for the reaction of different social groups of the population and for approval; only then do they have a good, or at least realistic chance of succeeding and, most importantly, gaining the genuine support of the population.

Second, the functions of the representative bodies of the soviets are acquiring increasing importance as the generator of different types of alternative programs and approaches and rational and constructive partners of executive power, but not as hostile forces opposing executive power. It is precisely during discussion of these questions that—with their critical comment and specific proposals—they will assist the search for an optimum decision, this is also true in all normal states and governments.

Third, it is difficult to overestimate the role the soviets are called upon to play as controllers—the function the representative powers are born with, right from when they were conceived, going back to ancient Roman times— first and foremost in the sphere of preventing the numerous and increasing abuses and violations of the law, about which, incidentally, the vice president spoke at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

One of the main reasons for the smear campaign against the soviets and deputies at all levels is that corrupt officials want to protect themselves against possible exposure and inevitable responsibility for the illegalities and abuses that they have committed. In fact, they wish to deprive the public of the right to defend themselves against corrupt and thieving bureaucrats, against those who line their pockets by cynically and brazenly plundering public property. Civil servants have in recent times actually ceased obeying even the government. They uphold only the selfish interests of their own bureaucrat class.

During last year, 1992, and the first half of this year, strange things, to put it mildly, have been taking place here, to the amazement of right-thinking people not only in this country but far beyond it as well. First, the worse the economy and most people's living standards become, the greater the effort made to convince us that things have already begun to stabilize, that the most dangerous stage of the crisis is over, and we can look to the future with optimism. Second, the authorities devote most of their energy and time to politicking and to propaganda campaigns in which virtually all members of the government are directly involved, despite the urgent need to concentrate on the economy and economics, because industry is in danger of losing its ability to meet even the most everyday needs of the public. Third, the more they talk about democracy, the more power is concentrated in one pair of hands and the greater the contempt shown for elected bodies and the judiciary, the tougher the line against the opposition and the more the threats of action against those who dissent, against those who do not support the overall direction.

Of course, these are not the only oddities, if one can thus describe them, in our life—we meet them at every step. Promises are dished out left, right, and center, so as to get support in elections and referendums, and then are instantly forgotten. Peaceful demonstrators are deliberately beaten up, and then instantly accused of being responsible for the clashes with the militia that took place. The mass information media are subordinated to one branch of power, yet it is asserted that they are the freest in the world. There is talk of civil peace and accord, yet what is actually done serves to whip up the situation, to divide up people, our very own citizens, into friends and enemies, with incitement and violence and so on.

The public is not yet sufficiently fully aware of the reasons for such absurdities.

But the main reason is the confrontational policy of the right-wing radical forces. The confrontational policy has been engendered by the failure of the course of reforms, the narrowing down of their social support base, and the strengthening of the influence on policy of sections of speculators and mafiosi and corrupt elements and also of the most radical Western politicians, advisers and scientists who—through inertia—are of an anti-soviet frame of mind and have an immense influence on the shaping of the home and foreign policy of the Russian state.

The confrontational—in many respects extremist—policy of the right-wing radical forces, which have captured a decisive position in the executive power, is upsetting the normal, evolutionary development in the economy, in the social sphere and in society's spiritual life. It arouses retaliatory extremism on the part of left-wing radicals. What we are faced with is an ever stronger intertwining of interests and actions of right-wing and left-wing extremists. This heightens the danger of the spread of violent processes throughout society.

The very same thing can be said of the referendum. In preparing and holding it, in general, if one speaks of referenda as a whole, there is rivalry and competition of different political forces. And in democratic states, to this end equal conditions are created for rivalling forces, which precisely is the basis for the constitutionality of the referendum. It is precisely the equal opportunities that are the foundation of the constitutionality, the foundation of the legitimacy of the referendum. In democratic countries, from time immemorial, equal opportunities are ensured for the main political forces to air their views and positions. If, however, fair norms for the allocation of time for address, for instance, in the mass media, are breached, a judicial caution is given to those in breach. And if the latter continue their course of action, the results of a referendum are cancelled. This has repeatedly happened in Germany, Great Britain, and other countries.

The same thing could also take place in our situation. For all intents and purposes we had grounds and we have grounds to make the appropriate application to the Constitutional Court for it to declare this referendum invalid. However, for the time being, those who should do this, are remaining silent.

If the congress and the Supreme Soviet are being accused of having, in every possible way, hampered the adoption of the new constitution, delaying it for over two years, then similar reproaches ought in the first place be addressed to the chairman of the Constitutional Commission who, instead of concocting decrees every day, should have been actively heading the work of the Constitutional Commission and providing the state with a new constitution. [applause]

Although, on the other hand, it is likely that in this case the rush was not necessary. For a society as a whole a smooth evolutional transition from one constitutional quality to another is preferable to a spasmodic revolutional transition. Instead of this approach, as you know, another approach was chosen: An extremely politicized and not only politicized but extremely ideological and especially emphasized confrontational approach—and I repeat—an especially emphasized confrontational approach. They hoped that nobody would be able to repulse properly. But there are people in our fatherland who are able to repulse properly. [applause]

We are not afraid that they are trying to disrupt the Supreme Soviet, to disrupt even the leadership of the Supreme Soviet. We had it before. At the moment the constructive work and the practical activity are the most important tasks. Of course, here we have a lot of difficulties including artificial difficulties. I have already touched upon our difficulties, for example, in the activity of the Supreme Soviet itself. We have our own, so to say, Shvonders and Sharikovs [Bulgakov characters] as everywhere else in our system of the representative power. But I would like to say only one thing. As never before, at the present time the representative power has real support from the population even if one says or thinks something different about this question. That is why nobody will adopt any fundamental decisions and nobody has the right to adopt them without taking into consideration the opinion of the representative power. This is what we should pay attention to, esteemed colleagues and esteemed friends. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Khasbulatov on Closing of Publications

LD0206030893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1935 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Remarks by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov following his speech at the Conference of People's Deputies in Moscow on 1 June; from the "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet" program—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Ruslan Khasbulatov answered questions:

[Khasbulatov, reading from unidentified newspaper] As for information, also an important question, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA writes exclusively about parliament, about the affairs of deputies, permanent commissions, and the difficulties of exercising deputies' rights and obligations. The magazine PEOPLE'S DEPUTY has become a politicized publication, divorced from real life. It is no mere coincidence that the party bosses have moved into it. Right, it is said that there was the magazine SOVIET OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES, regarded as bedside reading, on which the connoisseurs of Soviet construction worked. For whose benefit were these necessary publications closed? The publicizing of advanced experience—that's what is needed by soviets at all levels. It is important for us to know where to work skillfully and how to resolve the problems that arise. Help us in this. [Khasbulatov stops reading, looks up]

We are trying to help, to the utmost, but it is very difficult. Very difficult. Recently, for example, it was suggested to us that such an apparently important paper as YURIDICHESKAYA GAZETA should somehow come under the auspices of the Supreme Soviet. Half the members of the Presidium were up in arms. They didn't want that either. So, if you think that it is very easy to work, that it's as if the Supreme Soviet were something integrated and united, which champions the positions of representative power, and which ought to be kept down, you're wrong there, too. We also have deputies who do everything possible to undermine the positions of representative power in general.

Rutskoy Addresses Conference

LD0106222793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1935 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Speech by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy to Supreme Soviet session on 1 June—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed People's deputies! It will be difficult and hard to add anything to what Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov has said here. However, I would like to emphasize some issues that have a certain importance in our society and in our current situation.

I would like to begin my speech with a question: Where, in what country can the elected power, the parliament, allow democracy to be desecrated? That country is Russia. Where, in what country, do small cliques emerge from political adventurism to be given the right to economic adventurism? [applause] That country, again, is Russia.

It feels strange to sum up the results that we have achieved after the so-called economic and democratic reforms. If we analyzed the essence of the economic transformations, we will see that, in many ways, the country has been thrown back 10 and even 15 years.

On many occasions I have quoted the dictionary, saying: Let us open it and see what the essence of the concept of reform is. As it happens, it means a way to a better condition. Can we describe the situation today as being better than the one we used to live in? Probably not! That is why a slogan is being disseminated, that those who are now in this hall, those who essentially represent democracy itself—those people are dragging our society back, into the past, where supposedly life used to be a bed of roses.

Yes, let us be objective! Life was not too bad by comparison, at least better than today. So can one take all this for reform?

Today the West and the United States are trumpeting their support for the democratic government and for the great democrat of our time, Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I had the honor of meeting U.S Congressmen, a group of 18 came into my office. One of them could not bear it, however, and said: You are preaching to us here. Of course, I asked him to calm down and reminded him that it was not me who had come to see them, but they had come to see us.

I asked them three questions. Answer the first one please: What is the essence, the main essence of economic transformations? Also, could you name the main principles of economic transformations in the Russian Federation? Complete silence.

I said: What is the matter? We do not know. I said: Fine, name the main principles of democratic transformations in the Russian Federation. There is silence again—we do not know. The third questions emerges here: What, then, are you lending your support to, if you do not know either the economic principles or the democratic principles of transformations in the Russian Federation. Here [interrupted by applause] the fourth question emerges: For what purpose is everything that is currently taking place in the Russian Federation being done?

Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov wrote very well about this in his Article "Is Balkanization Possible?" Everything is clearly and precisely explained there: How events developed and how there was a rehearsal in Yugoslavia with regard to Serbia and the Yugoslav state. How all this ended you can see for yourselves: Bloodshed, collapse and the destruction of a state.

Can we allow ourselves to let it happen in the Russian Federation? Surely not. Let us together recall—and these events are fresh in my memory—I recall the year 1989, the election campaign to elect people's deputies of the USSR; I recall the election campaign to elect people's deputies of the Russian Federation. All of us present in this hall, whether we have our posts here, or in executive structures of authority, we have all come from the soviets—we were all people's deputies. I remember very well the slogan Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov held in Gorkiy Park. The slogan said: All power to the soviets. You will recall that it is precisely thanks to this slogan that democratic Russia succeeded in smashing the existing system, the so-called communist system—that is to say to have the Sixth Article repealed [guaranteeing the vanguard role of the CPSU] and to ensure that soviets have the power and that there is genuine power by the people in the country.

Now, let us together recall what is being said at present. Everyone, including the mass media—not all, of course, but those that come within the remit of the democratic, as it is being called, Federal Center of Information, that is to say Comrade Poltoranin and directly Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of Russia—just take a look at their propaganda line: That soviets have outlived themselves; that soviets are not power by the people, that they are a burden on reforms, that soviets are enemies of economic, democratic, and political transformations in the country.

In all conscience and bearing one's honor in mind, can one agree with this?

No. Why? Because we have all been elected by citizens of the Russian Federation. I have already said on more than one occasion that I remember the program of the president by heart. I remember it by heart. Why? Because I have visited fourteen subjects of the Russian Federation and there I had six to eight meetings with roughly similar audiences, quoted this program, propagandized it, defended it, and was saying that if we take this path we will solve the social problems of our society.

The main essence of the reforms lies namely in this. What was the purpose of the reforms? For the sake of a market or for the sake of the individual? I think, for the sake of the individual. Let us have a look—when you return, please find the program and have a look—how much of this program has been fulfilled? Absolutely nothing; complete zero.

Let us take the president's decree number one on science and education. It is science and education that create normal society. Have a look where our science and education are after this decree; again zero. Can one agree that we are destroying Russia not only as a state, but also its genetic fund. Today the mortality in the Russian Federation exceeds the birth rate by 1.8 times. Are these reforms, if people are becoming extinct and the state is dying out.

If we proceed at this rate—economists are forecasting this today—and thank God that at last we have a government of reformers. Fedorov is the deputy premier, and the finance minister stated clearly that it turns out that the government did not have any program even after two months. Can one conduct reform without having technical and economic calculations and programs and taking into consideration the social and political conditions. I think, not.

We have the tragic experience of the perestroyka of 1985. You all remember full well, including myself, how perestroyka was propagandized and how the West and the United States were shouting in unison: Gorbi, Perestroyka! Gorbi, Perestroyka!. What did perestroyka end with? With elimination of a superpower—a state the entire world reckoned with, a state that ensured the balance, the balance for stability and for observing peaceful conditions on the planet Earth.

Is there such a counter-balance today? No, there is not; the state is destroyed. The trend today is to say that it has fallen apart. But it has not just fallen apart—this was a deliberate act. In the final analysis it was none other than our fighters for democracy who furtively stole into the bushes to sign an agreement that destroyed a powerful country with a single flourish of the pen. [applause]

It is true that we live in controversial times today. Society has split up into social strata That is, a certain part of society has become rich by crudely robbing people while others are sliding toward the threshold of poverty. I remember Democratic Russia's slogans and the figures it quoted. It maintained that 16 to 20 percent of the population lived practically below the poverty line in the Soviet Union. But today's results are different, today 80 percent in Russia—and the situation in the former union republics is practically the same—live below the poverty line. Can we put up with this? No we cannot.

So where is the solution? The solution is in legality. Neither the Soviet Union nor Russia have ever lived in accordance with the constitution and law. For the first time the Russian Parliament has tried—I stress, has tried but has not achieved it yet—to make all the structures of power and society to live in accordance with law. Look what is taking place! Lies and deception have become the norm of our lives. The president indulges in it, the government automatically follows suit, then this is passed on automatically to the federation's subjects and as a result we have come to nothing else but an economic and political crisis.

You remember what the purpose of the referendum was. The main bulk of the Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and myself as vice president spoke out against the referendum because it yielded absolutely no results, because it was clear in advance—and the president, Shakhray, Volkogonov, Shumeyko, and other comrades spoke openly and frankly about this—that it was not the result of the referendum but its interpretation that was important. Now yet another political situation and political confrontation are being developed to suit this interpretation.

Why are they doing this? They are doing this in order to draw people's attention and the attention of society away from those economic cataclysms that we are going through. Is it not obvious that if we are to continue at such a pace for just another year the crisis will be complete. We were saying the same thing a year, a year and a half ago. Look at the results—the documents that were handed out to you—leaf through them, look at the proof we have there!

Let us again turn to history. During the four years of war with the Fascist Germany, industrial output in the Soviet Union fell by 24-26 percent. The drop in agriculture output was 16-18 percent. To let the industrial output drop to 32 percent in just one year of reforms and to destroy agriculture—where the output fell by 36 percent—this should be called no less than an economic crime against one's people—we should call a spade a spade, after all. [applause]

Today many people try to frighten us by the Stalinist bogy. When one is talking about responsibility, they immediately draw moustaches on Khasbulatov's face, with his ever-present pipe, naturally, and say: This man is your future dictator. Or, they interpret my own face in a similar way and try to present me as some sort of dictator too. No, we cannot be dictators because if we wanted to be dictators we would have acted as 'yes' men to those who brought this country to such a condition. We have chosen a different path, a completely different one. I said this many times: we could have used our position saying yes, everything is wonderful and fine and enjoying those perks that they were trying to fight against and that they now have increased ten-fold in comparison with what they had before.

But we did not act this way. Why? Because we still have such elementary notions as conscience. How can we grow fat when people live in such catastrophic conditions, when social problems of society are completely ignored? We were creating our social conditions for over 70 years not for the purpose of destroying them today but in order to make them better and better. This is what society and the state exist for.

How can we get out of this situation? There is only one way out. We cannot do much about the referendum, the results of which mean that the opportunity to hold reelections is ruled out. So, what should we do in this situation? I think that what we should do unequivocally—and I ask you to support me—we should come forward with this idea together, in solidarity—and we should reelect—or, to be more precise, instruct the Supreme Soviet to dissolve the present government.

This is the government that was formerly called 'the government of reform', then 'the government of the anticrisis measures', and today the very same government is calling itself 'the government of structural and economic restructuring'. It should be dissolved immediately. We should appoint a normal government that is capable of getting the country out of this situation. [applause]

But it should not be dissolved the way it used to be done before: People were removed from their posts, only to be sent as trade representatives to France, Italy, Spain, Canada, and so on. They should be made answerable not by using dictatorial methods, but they should be made answerable to the law and to the constitution for everything that has happened to our fatherland. What makes for instability in our society? It is the economic situation. Who is guilty of what has happened to the state? That much is clear.

Now for the mechanism allowing one to evade one's responsibility. It can be done in two ways. You either actively involve yourself in the work at hand and rectify the situation that has come about. This is what Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin is talking about, the combination of the words 'let us work' is to be found in every sentence of his speeches that he constantly makes.

The question arises: Who is it that prevents you from working? Go ahead, work. So, what do these two factors consist of? The first factor is involving oneself actively in economic processes and making the economy and finances of the Russian Federation correspond with each other, and this opportunity still exists, and what is needed for this is not political emotions but capabilities, capabilities and a high degree of responsibility toward the people for the post one occupies and for decisions taken. But instead of this, it is another option they go for: To create another battlefield, a battlefield around the constitution. Indeed, it is simply absurd to hear this.

Let us take this: There exists the Constitutional Commission and, however strange that is, it is the president who is the chairman of the Constitutional Commission. If such an acute need arose to adopt the constitution as speedily as possible, who was in the way of the Constitutional Commission being augmented by representatives of the subjects of the Russian Federation? Could that have been done? Yes, it could. Who was in the way of the Constitutional Commission being augmented by representatives of public, political movements, and parties? No one. Could it have been done? Yes, it could have been done.

But no, they took another path: Some kind of Constitutional Conference must be created and followed by yet another constituent something or other—that is to say again to circumvent and violate the law. It is precisely this that we must prevent from happening. Why? Because what is at present being foisted on society by the selfsame media and the selfsame government—and you will recall what it was busy doing before the referendum, they went all over the country for two months and carried out propaganda according to the Yes, Yes, No, Yes principle without at all working on the current economic processes or economic reforms, and at present it is busy doing the same thing, advocating a dictatorial constitution that has absolutely nothing in common with democratic principles of federalism. [as heard] Take a look: It is jostling for positions that are taking place.

Yet again, a new lie is being foisted on society, a new deception. Can one agree with this? No! That is why I believe, esteemed comrades, that the time of conversations, criticisms, polemic, this time is over. We are so short of time today that we cannot afford even two or three months for both economic and political processes to develop in this particular direction. We simply cannot afford it.

That is why I have only one request—and I fully agree with you here, I am prepared to work together and defend my stance to the end, whatever the cost. Namely, solidarity, alliance based on the idea of statehood, and the idea of democracy; on the idea and direction of economic reform into a civilized market sector and into resolving the society's social problems. For it is by solidarity alone, and our, let me underline, solidarity—the solidarity of representatives of the power of the people that this crisis can be stopped. Thank you very much for your attention. [continued applause]

Khasbulatov Concluding Speech

LD0106171993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1602 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Jun—Both the presidential and parliamentary drafts of the new constitution need to be substantially improved, Ruslan Khasbulatov believes. In his concluding speech to the conference of deputies of all levels, he noted that "no constitution adopted by unconstitutional means will ever be observed." Speaking about improvements to the constitution, he said: "We should not force this process, but it cannot be delayed, either."

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet spoke highly of the Federation Treaty which, in his words, "has saved Russia from disintegraion."

Talking about the media, Ruslan Khasbulatov noted that "at the moment, it is in the pocket of the executive power." He called on journalists to help parliament adopt the "right decisions" on electronic media.

Recalling that in 104 constitutencies of Russia voters have expressed a lack of confidence in their people's deputies, the chairman said: "This fact does not mean that the deputies should automatically surrender their powers." But the lack of voters' confidence means that the "deputies should be very conscientious in exercising their duties," Khasbulatov added. He stated that, should the deputies make necessary suggestions to the Supreme Soviet, the parliament, in keeping with the Constitution's norms, will hold secondary elections in those constituencies where voters have expressed this lack of confidence.

"We all should respect state institutions, including the institute of the presidency," Ruslan Khasbulatov said. At the same time, he noted that the president should not be head of the executive power in a parliamentary republic. The chairman spoke in favor of civil accord in society and stressed that he supports consensus.

Khasbulatov Speech Viewed

PM0106180593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Shinkin report: "Political Stakhanovites Are in a Hurry, With No Concern for Russian Citizens' Interests"]

[Text] An all-Russia conference of people's deputies from soviets of all levels was held in the Parliamentary Center yesterday. Despite the hysterical statement made by Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary, the day before yesterday that this event "aims to embroil soviets of all levels in the attack on the president, pit them against the Constitutional Conference, and disrupt the calm course of the constitutional process," the work of the people's deputies proceeded calmly. The participants in the conference tried to get away from the propaganda cliches that the independent mass media, far from impartial in their love of the president, foist on people and talk about real problems on whose resolution the fate of the country directly depends.

Speaking at the conference, Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov pointed out that a well-organized campaign has been mounted against representative power today and the stereotype is being pushed day and night that the soviets have become a kind of reactionary and conservative brake on the radical changes that are being implemented. However, the speaker said, any attempt by the center to use flagrant force to impose its will on the regions, the local authorities, and the people is inevitably doomed to fail. And we must not permit that train of events.

Organs of local self-government are designed to play a role in this. According to Khasbulatov, in areas where a system of local self-government, power for the people, and people's rule [narodopravstvo] has been developed, any form of neototalitarianism, no matter in what form it was introduced, is repudiated.

Of late, Khasbulatov remarked, strange things have been happening in our country: The worse the economic affairs and the lives of most people, the more talk there is about the onset of stabilization and an end to the crisis. Instead of concentrating efforts in the economic sphere, the executive branch has been devoting the lion's share of its energies and time to political intrigue. And the more is said about democracy, the more power is concentrated in just a few hands.

The main reason for these absurdities, Khasbulatov believes, is the confrontational policy pursued by right-wing radical forces, a policy engendered by the collapse of the reform course, the narrowing of their social base of support, and the increasing influence on policy of speculative mafia groups, corrupt elements, and highly radical Western politicians, advisers, and academics, anti-Soviet by force of habit, who have tremendous influence on shaping the Russian state's domestic and foreign policy. The confrontational and in many respects extremist policy pursued by the right-wing radical forces who have seized crucial positions in the executive is disrupting the normal evolutionary development of the economy, the social sphere, and society's spiritual life, and generating reciprocal extremism on the part of left-wing radicals. And this is stepping up the danger of an increase in violent processes throughout society.

Emotions over the new Constitution are only fueling this trend. They wanted to transform the economy first in 500 days, then in 300. Now a constitution is being worked out at a shock pace. Who needs records like that? Only the new "political Stakhanovites," but not the majority of Russian citizens.

The hasty forcing through of a new Constitution, according to Khasbulatov, is designed to heap all the blame for the current breakdown primarily on the representative branch of power, on the Supreme Soviet and the Congress, and free the corrupt people and bribe takers in the structures of executive power from supervision. Then the worsening economic and social problems can be resolved by the usual administrative-edict means, through tough pressure and another revolutionary leap forward. And the promises made to foreign patrons for their backing of the reforms can be repaid.

Once again Ruslan Khasbulatov stated his willingness to cooperate with the executive, but within the framework of the current Constitution. Any deviation from that Constitution will meet with a very resolute rebuff. He also spoke of the need to put the three draft Constitutions to a referendum, which would make it possible to clearly reveal the opinion of our fellow citizens.

Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy addressed the conference to stormy applause. He spoke boldly and resolutely. He suggested that the conference instruct the Supreme Soviet to dissolve the incumbent government, call it to account in accordance with the law for everything that has happened in the country, and create a new normal government. He described the hullabaloo over the Constitution as another lie and move to deceive the people. And he urged everyone to rally together around the idea of statehood and power for the people.

Khasbulatov Favors Referendum

PM0106103593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jun 93 p 1

["Own information" report: "R. Khasbulatov: 'I Would Be Glad To Resign but...'"]

[Text] The congress and only the congress should adopt the Constitution. After yesterday's meeting between journalists and the Supreme Soviet chairman it become definitively clear that in this he will go all the way: "My positions are extremely clear—the president and the chairman of the Constitutional Court have the right to hold any conference—to help the Constitutional Commission, to help the Supreme Soviet, to help the congress which adopts the Constitution..."

Ruslan Imranovich once more confirmed his attitude toward the president's draft Constitution—this is 40-60 percent the draft of the Constitutional Commission "and as regards independent creation, it contains utterly negative elements..." And he gave an assurance that "no constitutions adopted by unconstitutional means await us" and if there are nonetheless attempts of this kind they should "only make us smile."

R. Khasbulatov also reported that not only is he not opposed to the adoption of a new Constitution by referendum, he even insists on it: "I act as the initiator of holding a referendum on the three drafts of the Constitution... So support the speaker in his initiative..."

Ruslan Imranovich said that he derived the certainty that this time the people will make the correct choice from his recent tours of the country—voters are eager for a referendum and this time they know how to vote...

Commenting on reports of attempts to contact the president, Ruslan Imranovich noted that he is always ready for this in the interests of the matter, but he is not pursuing here the aim of increasing his political clout: "My authority among citizens is quite enough for me and it seems to me that it is no lower than the president's."

Deputy Opposes Khasbulatov Proposal

LD0106190393 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Mikhail Mityukov, the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for Legislation, has expressed opposition to a proposal by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to submit for consideration of the referendum three drafts of the constitution. Mityukov took part in an all-Russian conference of people's deputies of soviets of all levels. The people's deputy believes that it will be better to submit only one final draft constitution for the consideration of the referendum. The president's version should be a basis for this draft because it is better prepared as far as legal aspects are concerned.

Ryabov Views Purpose of Conference

LD0106223193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1935 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Interview with Nikolay Ryabov, Supreme Soviet deputy chairman, by unidentified reporter in the corridor of the Supreme Soviet building on 1 June—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] What, for you, is the purpose of this conference of deputies of all levels? What are its aims and goals? What is your idea of all this?

[Ryabov] I would like this conference to find ways of consolidating society rather than splitting it further. Some delegates have expressed this idea as well. Slogans like: We will not cede an inch; for how much longer, and similar ones are good, of course, from the standpoint of pure principle. However, what are they giving us, what will they give us in the future, in real terms? These questions are calling for an answer. There is too much criticism around today, far too much: often it is fair criticism, but often it is for the sake of criticism itself. We should work harder to search for common ground between all branches of authority, we should cooperate.

In the provinces, for example, nothing like this is taking place: in the provinces, soviets are not openly calling for campaigns against the administration, to the bitter end. Instead, they find ways to cooperate. In fact, many constituent parts of the federation are carrying out healthy work in the interest of the people. For some reason, however, the idea of confrontation still prevails in the center. They pay lip service to cooperation, but every phrase, as it were, every inference, every conclusion is tinted with this to the bitter end hue.

Presidium, Officials Reject Speaker's Speech

MK0206093093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Jun 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report: "Crack Atop 'Soviet Power' Grows Wider. Ruslan Khasbulatov Maneuvers So Far Only With Grave Jokes"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet chairman devoted part of his speech from the throne yesterday at the meeting of people's deputies at all levels (its main idea being that local self-government will save the country from any misfortune) to the commentary on the attempted "revolt" staged by a group of presidium members on 31 May. Speaking about the weakened connection between the soviets and the electorate, Ruslan Khasbulatov mentioned "some Presidium members" who, sitting in their offices, had lost touch with the people. Then a Khasbulatov-style joke followed: "We will accord medical treatment to some Presidium members." Earlier in that same speech, Mr. Khasbulatov said that Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Budget Commission, tried to persuade him to make concessions to the president, but that he, despite the begging, refused to do this so as not to violate the Constitution. The speaker told his colleagues that there was no chance of splitting the Presidium.

Speaking in the lobby, Mr. Pochinok repeated that Khasbulatov had become an obstacle in the way of an objective process—the country's transition form socialism to capitalism—having effectively joined forces with the communists for this purpose. The speaker's adamant refusal to reach a compromise with Yeltsin, according to Mr. Pochinok, may discredit the idea of Russian parliamentarianism in general. He also said that another closed-door meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium might take place to continue the discussion on the style and methods of the parliament's steering.

Nikolay Ryabov, who was very nervous on 31 May after an important debate fell through that day, also went to the lobby yesterday, which was unusual for him, to tell the journalists his opinion. He rejected Khasbulatov's idea of holding a referendum on three draft Constitutions, noting that such a referendum may safely be counted invalid well in advance. Indeed, Nikolay Ryabov said, some people do need "medical treatment." Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Defense and Security Committee, did not joke on the subject, however, adding that as for him, he is surely in good health.

The upcoming Constitutional Conference has already given the president the first result: real disagreements finally flared up in the Supreme Soviet. The advocates of compromise make up a minority among the deputies, but the situation in the presidium is different: This line is supported by Nikolay Ryabov, Veniamin Sokolov, and, possibly, Ramazan Abdulatipov. The rest are chairmen of the Supreme Soviet's commissions and committees: Aleksandr Pochinok, Sergey Stepashin, Aslanbek Aslakhanov, Mikhail Mityukov, Sergey Kovalev, Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, and Vladimir Podoprigora. None of them is a staunch Yeltsin loyalist, and some of them have until the present moment been considered his opponents, and they are rather a reflective species of Yeltsinites. Of course, each of them has his own reasons for being reflective. Some reflect merely on their own future political career, others may simply want to insure themselves against any adversity, and yet others apparently have set their sight on higher positions even in the incumbent Supreme Soviet.

Hence, it can be presumed with a high degree of confidence that today's closed-door debate is unlikely to lead to the implementation of the idea of "the collective steering of the parliament," because the speaker does not like the thought that his authoritarian power may be taken away from him. This idea is cherished by many of Khasbulatov's opponents in the presidium. The speaker, however, is unable "to do away" with them on his own, for in doing so he will be impeded by both their quantity and quality. The main technique of pacifying the dangerous and the unruly—reshuffling and renaming a corresponding committee headed by the objectionable person—is impossible to apply because the rioters include the chairmen of both chambers and the majority of the Supreme Soviet's key committees.

Ruslan Khasbulatov, however, will apparently draw courage from Aleksandr Rutskoy's support expressed at the same meeting, at which the latter accused President Yeltsin of all conceivable lies, calling for the Chernomyrdin government to be dissolved and replaced by a government capable of lifting the country out of its crisis.

Khasbulatov Speech Called 'Repetition'

PM0206102993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Chugayev commentary: "Speaker Prepared to Annul Results of the Referendum and Calls Comrades in Arms Sharikovs and Shvonders"]

[Text] "Representative power is currently enjoying an unprecedented degree of support from the population,"—this concluding sentence from R. Khasbulatov's speech, made 1 June in the Parliamentary Center at the opening of the conference of representatives of soviets of all levels, can be considered to be one of the most interesting sentences in the speakers' report. In other respects the speech was of a fairly general nature and was a repetition of the tenets expounded by the head of the Russian parliament recently.

These tenets include well-known theses on the organization of persecution of the soviets on the part of the executive organs of power, on the usurpation of power by these organs, on the president's dictatorial plans, and so on.

R. Khasbulatov called on representatives of the soviets to step up their activity, assume responsibility for a constitutional and democratic way of implementing reforms, and also to become owners of enterprises, which, in the speaker's view, should ensure the independence of the representative organs of power.

As for what is possibly the main theme today—the problems involved in adopting the Constitution—then R. Khasbulatov was not original here either, repeating his well known idea that only a referendum on the three drafts of the Fundamental Law is capable of resolving the problem constructively. At the same time, R. Khasbulatov did not explain to what extent this idea logically correlates to the statement he made a little earlier to the effect that the recent referendum has struck a serious blow at Russian statehood. In the same part of the speaker's speech, his statement to the effect that there are grounds to petition the Constitutional Court to annul the results of the referendum because radio and television did not give all political forces equal opportunities to express their positions during its preparation—caused a certain animation in the hall. "I am demonstrating my aptitude for analysis," R. Khasbulatov thus commented on his own idea, at the same time expressing surprise at the fact that those who could present such a petition were silent.

The virtual admission of the head of the parliament of the fact that serious differences of opinion exist in the Supreme Soviet leadership also generated a certain interest. "We have our Shvonders and Sharikovs [characters in Bulgakov's novel "Heart of a Dog"]," he stated, and promised the participants in the conference that he would "cure" several members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Judging by the speeches of participants in the conference and the general situation in the hall, everything that is happening is at the moment justifying the assumption that on the eve of the constitutional conference, R. Khasbulatov and the political forces backing him will try to form and strengthen, on the basis of the soviets, a coalition opposing the president, and the aim of this coalition is to all appearances to drag out the process of adopting the new Constitution as much as possible. Russian Federation Vice President A. Rutskoy also took part in the work of the sitting, which can scarcely be considered unexpected either.

Khasbulatov, Rutskoy Media Attacks Condemned

LD0106200193 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Commentary by presenter Igor Grigoryev and by Valeriy Shabanov, special correspondent of NOVAYA VOLNA]

[Excerpts] People's deputies from all levels and ranks are holding a hural today. Ruslan Imranovich, the speaker, delivered a keynote speech at the conference in which he spared nobody. The president, the government, the civil service, the mass media, and the referendum all came under attack. Since you heard an extract from this speech in our afternoon bulletin, we will not repeat it here. Instead, let's hear what Aleksandr Rutskoy had to say in continuation, so to speak, of Khasbulatov's theme. After describing the speaker's address as all-embracing and well-founded, the vice president lashed out at the government, calling it a collection of arrogant political adventurists—no more and no less.

Why is Aleksandr Vladimirovich so shy? A while back he said that he had 11 suitcases stuffed with compromising evidence. But for some reason the prosecutor, Stepankov, has not instituted any proceedings at all, even though he certainly cannot be accused of sympathizing with the cabinet or with the president's entourage.

What about Ruslan Imranovich's allegations that the mass media are biased and even corrupt? Given our status, he must have been referring to this radio station as well. Against this background, how can the esteemed chairman explain the fact that, immediately after the broadcast of his completely unscheduled speech in the afternoon edition, we had an interview with one of his ideological comrades-in-arms, Gennadiy Zyuganov, who is the leader of the Communist Party. This was an interview which had already been prerecorded for the program. So who is buying our time? The parliament, the communists, or the government? Oh dear, how funny it would all be if it wasn't so sad!

But let's return to the subject of our report, the deputies' conference held today at the parliamentary center in Moscow. Over to Valeriy Shabanov, a special correspondent for NOVAYA VOLNA.

[Shabanov—live or recorded] As expected, and predicted in our morning program, today's superassembly of deputies from all levels put its stamp of approval on the parliamentary speaker's position regarding the resuscitation of Soviet power. [passage omitted]

I remind you that the deputies from the regions who were invited to the conference are also members of the working group of representatives, from all subjects of the federation, set up to examine proposals on parliament's draft constitution. So, their views were already clear. The only Russian people's deputies who turned up at the meeting were, to all practical purposes, representatives of the hardline opposition. Even so, they did not make an appearance in the hall. They preferred to remain in the foyer, more than willing to give interviews. The political tone of the assembly was immediately set in the opening address by Ruslan Khasbulatov. As always, it had a curious feature. Right at the start of his speech he amazed many of his listeners by asserting that from time immemorial citizens of our homeland have been attracted to a republican system. How can you account, therefore, for the age-old affinity we are supposed to have for a father figure, a kindly tsar? Up to now we have thought of our speaker as an economist par excellence. Now, it seems, he hankers after the laurels of historian and researcher. No doubt, his antipathy toward the presidential draft of a new constitution is the reason for this passage in his speech.

But that is by the way. What was the main theme of the speech? The presidential draft constitution represents an attempt to undermine the federal organs of representative power, he claimed. But if you examine the drafts, he went on, you can see that, in addition to the two main ones, there is a third, drafted by the Communist Party of Russia. So, the best way of adopting the constitution would be a referendum, he said.

Here is another intriguing aspect of the speech. Khasbulatov complains that local soviets have been kept badly informed by parliament of new laws and other enactments. But let's not forget that, when necessary, sackloads of documents can be urgently despatched by air to the most remote regions. That, for instance, is what happened with the text of the vice president's recent speech to the Supreme Soviet.

Aleksandr Rutskoy, by the way, honored the deputies' assembly with his presence. He even addressed it in his usual manner, resorting increasingly to the arguments of the hardline opposition. As we know, Rutskoy has any amount of spare time at his disposal these days and is able to embellish the presidiums of as many meetings as he wishes.

Here is another noteworthy point from Khasbulatov's speech. The soviets are not doing as much work as they should. That's an understatement. According to the Supreme Soviet itself, the organs of Soviet power in the regions are experiencing a veritable crisis. Last year, 740 local soviets ceased to exist. Some 70 percent of them dissolved themselves. The number of deputies fell by 48,000. Sessions are held irregularly. No matter how hard you try, you cannot blame this on the intrigues of the executive branch.

One other thing: In complete contradiction to the results of the referendum, Khasbulatov declared that the representative branch enjoys more public support than ever before. Therefore, important decisions—above all the constitution, it follows—cannot be made without it. True to form, the speaker did not refrain from digs at his colleagues. Certain members of the presidium need treatment, he said—a reference to Ryabov, Abdulatipov, and Sokolov, who have strayed out of line just recently. Aleksandr Pochinok, chairman of the budget committee, has joined this list. In an interview with me he said that he had spent an entire hour trying to persuade Ruslan Imranovich not to go behind the back of the parliament and the presidium.

A debate began after the report. Speakers were unusually unanimous in their views. Once again this shows, however obliquely, just how carefully the delegates to the conference were selected. Nevertheless, not all deputies lost their sense of reality—especially those from the hinterland. [passage omitted]

A number of final documents were adopted, as is customary on such occasions. The nature of these documents was decided even before the assembly opened. Judging by the quarrelsome expressions of some deputies and the sometimes aggressive tone of the speeches, the deputies from the provinces haven't learned much from the experience of their more senior colleagues in the Supreme Soviet. I keep thinking that, at any moment, they should rise to their feet, as in the unhappy past, and start singing: We will march boldly on until we win all power for the Soviets.

[Grigoryev] Today, we have not put callers through to the studio. But I am told that calls are coming in and that they are addressed directly to me. I am grateful, of course, that judging by what callers have said in the past I have become popular to some extent. That cannot fail to be gratifying. Any journalist would also say thank for the fact that you, esteemed listeners, have regarded me as objective and independent. But today, by all accounts, your confidence in me has been somewhat shaken. What I said about the deputies' conference in the parliamentary center, about the speeches by Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, and others, was not very flattering.

I am sorry, but I have to repeat what I said before. I believe in being specific, whatever the occasion. Take Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy. He keeps on hinting, hinting, hinting. But he refuses to be specific about anybody or anything. No criminal case has ever been instituted on such a basis, I repeat. Or take what Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov said. After all, he entered parliament on an anticommunist platform. But now he is proposing a communist constitution as a serious subject for discussion by the entire country. But the important thing is the atmosphere in which today's conference was held, the tone and ferocity of the discussions, the refusal to listen to what opponents have to say. That, I repeat, is what I find unacceptable. The same applies to the endless accusations of prejudice and one-track support for Yeltsin and his team, which they level against the mass media and, therefore, our program. After all, this is not true either. They seem to think that everybody has bought us. But journalists are leaving because the salaries earned even by leading corresondents are far lower than what a militia-man on point duty gets.

So, esteemed listeners, let's judge everything calmly and fairly. Then, no doubt, we will be able to look each other in the eye, in a calm and respectful manner. Thank you.

Regional Affairs

Security Minister Barannikov Visits Vladivostok

LD3005112393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0706 GMT 30 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Timofey Orekhov]

[Text] Vladivostok May 30 TASS—Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov arrived in Vladivostok today. He intends to go from Vladivostok to Khabarovsk, Sakhalin and other regions of the Far East, ITAR-TASS learned from informed sources. The purpose of the trip was not reported.

Views Fishing, Economic Issues

LD3105082193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0748 GMT 31 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Popov]

[Text] Vladivostok May 31 ITAR-TASS—Russian National Security Minister Viktor Barannikov met with operatives of the maritime security agencies to discuss strengthening the Russian state border and combatting economic crimes.

Speaking about the plunder of Russia's fish stocks in the Okhotsk Sea, the minister stressed that Russia is now negotiating with Americans, Koreans, Poles and Japanese at the level of governmental structures.

"It is necessary to regulate the personnel of the ministry's structures in the Far East," Barannikov said. "We shall be looking for a solution both through the use of internal reserves and through ministerial funding".

Barannikov then told a press conference about work on a mechanism for establishing law-based relations with the countries of the Asian Pacific region neighbouring on the Russian Far East in general and the Maritime territory in particular.

Also today, Viktor Barannikov flew to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

Views Problems Facing Security Ministry

LD3105202193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 31 May 93

[Report by correspondent Solomatin on Security Minister Viktor Barannikov's Far East tour, including recorded comment by Barannikov, in Vladivostok on 31 May; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] According to Security Minister Viktor Barannikov, Moscow's representatives are discussing with Japan, the United States, and South Korea the issues of illegal fishing in Russia's waters in the Far East. Barannikov made this statement in the course of his tour of the region, during which he familiarized himself with various problems facing the Far East.

[Barannikov] There are many questions. One of the main questions is the question of the border.

[Solomatin] It took the ministry 18 months to organize itself. Retaining all the best from the former KGB, it also inherited all the problems and difficulties in combating all sorts of crimes, aggravated by legal free-for-all, economic muddle, virtual absence of state borders, growing crime rate, terrorism, arms trade and drug trafficking; also the problem of foreign special services stepping up their activities and sending into Russia their agents posing as businessmen representing trade houses, companies, and banks. Now it is Russia's Security Ministry that has to untangle this knot of problems of the transitional period.

Visits Maritime Kray Nuclear Sub Base

LD0106092793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Jun 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] It is not a coincidence that Russia's security minister decided to start his tour of Maritime Kray by familiarizing himself with the border. Around 70 percent of all the country's export and import freight turnover now passes through the Far Eastern borders.

Viktor Barannikov also visited one of the Pacific Fleet's nuclear submarine bases. He took an interest here in the use and burial of radioactive wastes and the use of spent reactors.

[Barannikov] We need a range of specific measures here, and as quickly as possible. This is not just the Ministry of Security and the law enforcement bodies, but the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, and the Economic Ministry should also be involved here. There is robbery taking place today in the Far East region.

Completes Far Eastern Tour

LD0206082493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0652 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Vostokov]

[Text] Khabarovsk June 2 TASS—Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov assessed the operational situation in the Far East during a meeting with security officers of Khabarovsk territory and with Far Eastern frontier guards here today. He noted that the situation in the region was difficult, but meetings with the personnel and leaders of Security Ministry subdivisions testified to the mutual understanding and interaction between the local authorities and the special services. It was stressed during the meeting that the frontier guards and officers of various subdivisions of the ministry were today compelled to discharge also the tasks of protecting the country's economic interests and combatting organised crime. "This work has to be stepped up," the minister noted.

The meeting discussed problems linked with the protection of the state border with due account of the region's specific features and the relations shaping up with neighbouring states.

The minister has completed his working visit to the Far East and will fly to Moscow today.

Khasbulatov Visit to Saratov Viewed

PM0206094993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition p 1

[Nikolay Sorokin and Oleg Zlobin report: "Saratov: Supporting Commodity Producers"]

[Excerpts] Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov paid a working visit to Saratov Oblast 29-30 May. The visit to the Saratov area was the culmination of the Russian parliament chairman's tour of Volga region cities. [passage omitted]

Khasbulatov's tight schedule and his countless conversations and meetings in Saratov encompassed a broad range of the most acute problems confronting Russian legislators in all their magnitude today: the constitutional crisis and the confrontation between the authorities, economic collapse, corruption, rampant crime, and the lack of social security for millions of Russia's inhabitants.

Ways must be sought to break the deadlock, Khasbulatov emphasized repeatedly during his meetings with the people of the Volga, and our actions measured against the mood of the people. Khasbulatov said that the deliberate attack on the heart of the economy—the destruction of high technologies that are being irrevocably lost and the comprehensive demolition of a potential that has taken decades to build up—cannot be described as anything but an committed desire on the part of certain forces within and outside the country to push Russia toward disintegration.

This grim picture can be seen today at the major Volga plants, where thousands of qualified personnel are out of work. Skilled people, skilled hands have found themselves unwanted: The wages of a design engineer at Saratov's "Znamya Truda" plant, which recently manufactured unique electronic equipment, are equivalent to the minimum pension. While the consumer budget in the oblast is double that wage. Thousands of families of plant personnel have overnight fallen below the poverty line as a result of the "reforms."

The situation is the same in other cities in the Volga region. Incumbent politicians have set themselves the specific goal of destroying the country's technical defense complex. That was how Khasbulatov summed up the impressions of his familiarization with the state of affairs at defense industry enterprises. If congress, if the people's deputies do not attempt to do something today, he said at a meeting with plant personnel, Russia is threatened with a future as not even a third-rate but a fourth-rate country with an incomprehensible regime. It is only by developing on true market principles, by integrating with Belarus, Kazakhstan, and other countries that Russia can become a mighty power; that would indeed be a strong union. [passage omitted]

Tatarstan President Praises Meeting With Yeltsin

LD2805170993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1546 GMT 28 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan May 20 TASS—A new, radical step has been made in relations between Russia and Tatarstan, President Mintimer Shaymiyev told a news conference here today, speaking about his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

"This spring is holding out many promises, as evidenced also by yesterday's summit between two presidents—of Russia and of Tatarstan. It was a meeting of allies, of likely-minded people. We signed four agreements on ecology, higher education, property, and transportation of oil and petroleum products. There are ground to expect that a treaty will soon be signed between Russia and Tatarstan. It will be an effective treaty because in the course of drafting it all details of cooperation come into focus," Shaymiyev said.

Commenting on the preparation of a new constitution of the Russian Federation, the president of Tatarstan noted that the best must be taken from the two drafts and a single draft should be then submitted for approval. Shaymiyev said two experts from Tatarstan would be dispatched to Moscow in the next few days to take part in work on the draft new constitution.

Tatar President Holds News Conference 28 May

PM0106132893 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 93 First Edition p 2

[Dmitriy Mikhaylin report on 28 May news conference given by Tatarstan President Shaymiyev; place not given: "We Have a Result"]

[Text] At a 28 May press conference on the results of the session of the Council of Heads of Republics and the talks between delegations from Russia and Tatarstan at the highest level held in Moscow 27 May, Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev came out in favor of not immediately breaking off the constitutional process, but submitting for discussion at the Constitutional Conference a single draft, coordinated beforehand, but with alternative articles to reflect fundamentally different viewpoints.

There was great satisfaction in the Tatarstan leadership with the fact that "for the first time a statement of heads of republics within the Russian Federation, albeit not in the most precise terms, expressed the view that the Russian Constitution should reflect a formula for relations with the republics that did not sign the Federation Treaty. This stance was also expressed by the federal leadership at the talks."

According to Mintimer Shaymiyev, the question of incorporating in the Russian Constitution a memorandum [zapis] on special relations with Tatarstan is no longer in dispute at the talks. It is only a question of the text of the memorandum, that is, the formula for relations between Russia and Tatarstan.

It was also stated at the press conference that the tactics for drafting the bilateral treaty have changed. Whereas formerly it was planned to clarify certain provisions after the signing, the delegations have now opted for the tactics of clarifying matters beforehand. That is, agreements on specific issues are to be signed first, and only after that the bilateral treaty.

Four of the 11 agreements were signed 27 May.

According to Vasiliy Likhachev, vice president of the Republic of Tatarstan, the fact of the meeting between delegations from Russia and Tatarstan at the highest level is in itself a result. Strange as it may seem, on this occasion something happened in 72 minutes that had not happened in nearly a year: The impasse in the talks between Russia and Tatarstan was broken.

Regional Leaders Discuss New Russian Constitution

Ingush President Comments

MK0206105493 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 23, 2-8 Jun 93 p 3 (signed to press 1 Jun)

[Article by Ingush Republic President Ruslan Aushev under the "Presidents" rubric: "Constitution Should Be Adopted at a Referendum!"]

[Text] I do not know whether I should expect this from the Constitutional Conference or from any other body, but what I expect from the discussion and adoption of the Fundamental Law is stabilization. All Russia is looking forward to seeing it because without stabilization its numerous problems cannot be resolved. Stabilization has been longed for by the regions, most of all by the North Caucasus. We are crying out about our problems—refugees, destruction—but no one hears us. Therefore, we want a constitution to be adopted as soon as possible—whether by the congress or by the Constitutional Conference.

As for the two drafts, they should be merged into one, but I believe the Constitutional Conference will be unable to cope with this task. Again, a lot of people will gather, they will start arguing and will not reach any agreement. This is what I told Boris Nikolayevich at the Council of Heads of Republics: "This will be yet another hural [Mongolian parliament]!" At the initial stage, a small group of specialists should draw up a single draft, which should later be put to a referendum so that the people will assume responsibility for the Fundamental Law. This will be an important, historic step. And afterward—early presidential and parliamentary elections.

To my mind, it should have been the Constitutional Court, as the third, neutral force, that should supervise the work on merging the two drafts. Although this falls outside its jurisdiction under the current Fundamental Law, finding solutions to constitutional problems is its domain. What can be more important among such problems than finalizing a new draft constitution?

Kalmyk President Urges Adoption

MK0206111093 Moscow ROSSIYA in Russian No. 23, 2-8 Jun 93 p 3 (signed to press 1 Jun)

[Article by Kalmyk President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov under the "Presidents" rubric: "Russia Should Have an Owner!"]

[Text] Presently, everyone is convening constitutional conferences—Yeltsin and Khasbulatov, the left wing and the right. I, however, think that a constitution should be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies. Of course, before that everyone should have expressed his opinion with regard to the drafts: the president via the Constitutional Conference, other forces, etc., but it is the congress that should make the definitive decision.

We should not overestimate the political clout and importance of some of the conference's participants. They say: "Parties." But some of them have only dozens of members. Are they really capable of expressing the opinion of all Russia? Rather the components—the republics and regions—should organize the discussion of the drafts and, later, the adoption of the fundamental law at the congress.

For this purpose one single draft should be submitted. The Constitutional Conference could be helpful precisely in merging the two drafts into one. At least, discussing and reconciling is better than fighting...

Naturally, being president of a sovereign republic within Russia, I give preference to the presidential form of political arrangement. In Kalmykia, too, we have opted for a presidential, or maybe even "superpresidential," republic. This is more suitable for Russian conditions. For Russia should have an owner. Everywhere—at a plant, at a factory, in the fields, or in a newspaper—there will be no order without an owner.

The presidential draft could be adopted as the basis for finalizing the constitution and amended by incorporating the requisite provisions from the Constitutional Commission's draft. It is the joint draft that should be submitted for discussion, and what is most important: it is essential to guarantee the rights of the components of the Federation.

Karelia's Deputies Critical

LD0106201593 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Karelia's deputies believe that it is necessary to elaborate one agreed draft constitution and that the Federation Treaty should be, by all means, a basis for it.

On 1 June a session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic took place in Petrozavodsk. The deputies sharply criticized both draft constitutions. The people's representatives believe that the documents ignore the rights of the peoples of Russia and do not pay attention to the principles of forming and creating the Russian federal state and do not determine the meaning and status of a federation subject.

The deputies believe that one of the main conditions of adopting the new constitution should be a thorough examination of every article of the constitution whether it corresponds with the Federation Treaty.

Ispravnikov Visits Irkutsk Economic Conference

LD2805181193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 28 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Vladimir Ispravnikov, the deputy of Ruslan Khasbulatov, has taken part in the conference: The Economy of the Oblast: Problems and Prospects for Development, and in a presentation of a new export works of the (Kedr) joint stock company in Irkutsk. At a press conference, he noted that the referendum confused many issues and made them more complicated. Regarding the adoption of a new constitution, this is the purview of a Congress of People's Deputies, Vladimir Ispravnikov stressed.

Vorkuta Miners Threaten Indefinite Strike

LD0106184493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By unidentified correspondent from Vorkuta; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] The independent trade union of Vorkuta miners has sent cables for the attention of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Council of Ministers Chairman Viktor Chernomyrdin stating that tensions are building up in miners' work collectives in this polar town due to the worsening situation in payments. This situation is caused by customers' non-payments and delays in receiving state subsidies. The council of representatives of the union demanded that debts in respect of rates agreements be paid by 6 June, that payments be made to suppliers and received from customers by 10 June, and that grants and resources provided for in the rates agreement be released on a monthly basis. Otherwise, independent miners' trade unions will take it upon themselves to organize an indefinite strike in the Vorkuta mines. [passage omitted]

Demands Detailed

LD0206111293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1011 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta, Republic of Komi, June 2 TASS—The independent Coalminers' Union (ICU) of Vorkuta has delivered an ultimatum to the Government of Russia. The ICU announced a pre- strike alert in view of the Russian Government's failure to implement the sectoral tariff agreement, labour laws and collective bargaining contracts and accords.

The ICU Council of Representatives put forward a number of demands on the Russian Government and threatened to call a termless strike at the coalmines and other coal-industry enterprises of Vorkuta from June 10 if their demands are not complied with.

The demands are as follows:

—the government should settle the state debt under the tariff agreement and subsidies before June 5.

—the mutual debts of coalminers and their allied suppliers, including railwaymen, should be offset before June 10.

—funds for the implementation of the sectoral tariff agreement and the envisaged subsidies should be allocated monthly before the 10th of each month.

—a meeting between President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and representatives of the Russian ICU should be arranged before June 10 to resolve the coal industry problems.

The socio-economic situation in the Vorkuta work collectives has been again strained to the utmost by the aggravated problems regarding the payment of wages and annual holiday pay: wages for April have not yet been paid.

The coalminers would not like to resort to such an extreme measure as calling a strike, Aleksandr Marmalyukov, first deputy chairman of the Vorkuta ICU, told ITAR-TASS. The coalminers are aware that calling a strike would be of detriment to the current reform process in the country.

They hope to resolve the problems through negotiations, without driving the situation to a social outburst. ICU activists are now busy doing explanatory work at coal mines to prevent spontaneous actions of protest or stoppages, Marmalyukov said.

Komi Government Session Reaches Economic Conclusions

LD2705193493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 May 93

[By correspondent Ye. Kuznetsov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Komi economy is in danger of going bankrupt. This depressing conclusion was arrived at by an expanded meeting of the northern republic's government. It was reported that there has been a decline in production this year which is affecting all branches of industry. Oil extraction has fallen by a third, and coal mining, timber output, and the production of goods for export have declined. The pace of construction has dropped. Almost a third of the republic's enterprises are completely bankrupt, and total debts since the beginning of 1993 exceed 156 billion rubles. At the same time, it was particularly stressed that in 1993 there has been a significant strengthening of state influence on production, both in Komi and in Russia as a whole.

International Affairs

Foreign Ministers To Prepare for Yeltsin-Kravchuk Summit

LD0106172293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1701 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Yelena Kirichenko for TASS]

[Text] Kiev June 1 TASS—The Russian and Ukrainian presidents have instructed their foreign ministers to hold negotiations to prepare for a summit meeting on the Black Sea fleet issue, a briefing at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry was told here today.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is expected to come to Kiev in the near future.

Defense Council Makes Decisions on Black Sea Fleet

LD3105155193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1435 GMT 31 May 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov for TASS]

[Text] Kiev, 31 May—Issues concerning the settlement of the situation surrounding the Black Sea Fleet were discussed today at a meeting of the Ukrainian Defense Council, chaired by President Leonid Kravchuk. The Ukrainian president's press service has announced that appropriate decisions were made on the subject.

The meeting also discussed a number of other important problems affecting the way the state's defense capability is guaranteed.

Sevastopol Authorities Urge Summit on Black Sea Fleet

LD0106121593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1025 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow June 1 TASS—Authorities in Sevastopol, the major naval base of the Black Sea Fleet in the Crimea, proposed to presidents of Russia and Ukraine to hold a summit in the city before June 20 to solve the dispute over the Black Sea Fleet, the headquarters of the Navy told TASS on Tuesday [1 June] quoting Ivan Yermakov, the representative of the Ukrainian president in Sevastopol, as saying at a press conference.

The city administration has exhausted all its capabilities to settle the dispute which is to be settled by the leaders of the two countries, according to Yermakov, who added that responsibility for the latest developments in the Crimea and on the Black Sea Fleet is born by the presidents of Russia and Ukraine.

Yermakov denounced the "competition in hoisting flags on warships" saying it is the states which have to share the fleet.

He disagreed with the proposal of Black Sea Fleet commander to create a state commission which will share the Navy. "I do not believe in any commissions. The responsibility for the fate of people should be born personally by the presidents of Russia and Ukraine", he was quoted as saying.

Yermakov also informed that there is a proposal to proclaim Sevastopol a city-state under the joint protectorate of Russia and Ukraine.

Sevastopol Ukrainians Say Russia Breaches Yalta Agreement

MK0106085693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Jun 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilat report under the "Crimea" rubric: "Sevastopol's Ukrainians Hold Congress. It Demands Pullout From Ukraine of Military Units That Are Not Part of Republic's Armed Forces"]

[Excerpts] The first congress of Sevastopol's Ukrainians took place on 29 May. It was scheduled for 28 March, but under pressure from the Sevastopol committee of the National Salvation Front and some neocommunist movements demanding that the city be returned to Russian jurisdiction, a city council session imposed a three-month moratorium on all political events in Sevastopol with the exception of state and religious holidays. The session's decision was challenged by the city prosecutor. In the end the organizing committee decided to call the upcoming forum a "Congress of Sevastopol Residents—Ukrainian Citizens." Having completed their work, however, the delegates returned to the old name—the "Congress of Sevastopol's Ukrainians." [passage omitted]

It was noted at the congress that Crimea and Sevastopol in 1954 became part of Ukraine perfectly legally and that no legislative act bearing on this issue may be questioned. Nonetheless, according to Yuriy Timoshchuk, chairman of the congress organizing committee and chief editor of FLOT UKRAINY [Ukrainian Fleet], "the Sevastopol National Salvation Front is agitating the people, trying to win support among people's deputies of the Russian Federation, and, unfortunately, is getting this support." Participants in the congress spoke out in favor of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between Ukraine and Crimea, primarily with Russia and other CIS countries. Ukrainian People's Deputy Nikolay Porovskiy said that "the communists and the socialists want to ruin Ukraine's economy, impoverish the people, and then, like in 1917, force us into a Russian empire. But we have learned a bitter lesson and nothing of the kind will ever be repeated. Yet we must remember that preserving independence today is perhaps our last chance."

The congress was addressed by Vice Admiral Boris Kozhin, commander in chief of the Ukrainian Navy. He sharply criticized the command of the Black Sea Fleet and the Russian Navy for breaching the Yalta agreement. "The Yalta agreement has virtually been torpedoed by the Russian side," he said. He stated that "relying on the support of the people of Sevastopol, of the entire people of Ukraine, we shall build a powerful Ukrainian Navy. It will be a worthy partner for the North Atlantic and Russian Federation Navies."

Speakers at the congress expressed their support for the position of Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel General Konstantin Morozov with respect to the Black Sea Fleet ships that have raised St. Andrew's flags, demanding that the presidents of Russia and Ukraine immediately begin negotiations in Sevastopol on the Black Sea Fleet.

The congress issued an appeal to the president and the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, and to the Ukrainian people. It says in particular: "The time has come immediately to divide the fleet and to remove outside Ukraine those military units that are not part of Ukraine's armed forces. It is time measures were taken, envisioned under the legislation, to stop fomentation of hatred and hysteria. We are appealing to the president to do everything possible to preserve peace in Sevastopol, Crimea, and Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Kravchuk, European Lawmakers View Constitution

LD0206091393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk received a delegation today from the European Commission for Democracy through Law. This public organization is functioning under the aegis of the Council of Europe. Its representatives came to Kiev with the purpose of acquainting themselves with work on the draft of Ukraine's new constitution. Leonid Kravchuk informed them that this document had been approved by the constitutional commission and submitted to the Supreme Council. In his opinion, contemporary nation-building processes demand that it be adopted without delay. At the same time, he did not exclude the possibility of holding a referendum on the main points of the new constitution of our state. On the whole, its draft has received positive appraisal from foreign experts. It was also stressed that it reflects the main principles of a democratic society: division of power and human rights guarantees.

Kuchma Discusses Ties With Hungarian Defense Minister

LD2805174793 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1250 GMT 28 May 93

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zayka]

[Text] Kiev, 28 May—The future of its armed forces is of great importance in ensuring Ukraine's independence. And in this respect, we do justice to good, friendly, mutually beneficial, and useful ties in the military field between Ukraine and Hungary, Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma said when receiving Dr. Lajos Fur, Hungary's defense minister. The head of the Hungarian military department is on a two-day official visit to Kiev.

The guest handed Leonid Kuchma a message of greeting from the prime minister of the Republic of Hungary, confirming the importance of relations between Hungary and Ukraine. Bilateral cooperation and a number of points of mutual interest were discussed.

Defense Minister of Ukraine Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov; Istvan Varga, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Hungary in Ukraine, and other officials took part in the conversation.

Promises To Supply Military Parts

LD2805170593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] The Hungarian Army can by all means count on the Ukrainian military industry, which has large reserves. Lajos Fur learned this at his talks in Kiev. Nandor Mester reports from the Ukrainian capital.

[Mester] The defense minister was received by Leonid Kuchma, head of government, and leaders of the parliament's defense committee. Fate willed that we have to rely on our Ukrainian partners first and foremost in the field of parts supply and repair of military engineering devices. They have promised that they will make an effort to satisfy the Hungarian needs.

Kuchma also stressed that the close cooperation of the two military portfolios is further improving the two countries' relationship in general. This gives political significance to Lajos Fur's current visit, during which they also talked about the training of officers and the search for Hungarian soldiers' graves. The Ukrainian leaders have promised that once the interior political conditions have been sorted out they will submit their own ideas. So this is the future. However, one of the central topics of the present is the new Ukrainian security policy proposal. Its essence is that the Central and East European countries should take on guarantees vis-a-vis each other, and their leaders should always consult each other. Lajos Fur said today that Hungary is studying the proposal, but for us the already existing European security structures give the most certain guarantee.

Zlenko, CSCE Official Discuss Transdniester Conflict

WS2805144893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1432 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Kiev, 26 May—Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko met with Timothy Williams, the CSCE commission head in Moldova, to discuss the situation in the Transdniester region. Anatoliy Zlenko acquainted the CSCE official with the Ukrainian position on the conflict in the area and Ukrainian proposals for its peaceful settlement. Mr. Williams shared his opinion on the CSCE's direct involvement in settling the crisis.

Embassy in Finland To Represent Ukraine in Scandinavia

WS3105075993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1340 GMT 26 May 93

[Text] Helsinki, 25 May—Kostyantyn Masyk, Ukrainian ambassador in Finland, presented his credentials to the Queen of Denmark Margrethe the Second. From now on, the Ukrainian Embassy in Finland will represent the interests of Ukraine in all Scandinavian countries.

Committee for Solidarity With Cuba Founded

WS2805144993 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] A committee for solidarity with Cuba has begun activity in Odessa. It has support from the oblast Communist Party organization and the Association of Promotion of Social Renovation. Some Odessa enterprises have already granted financial aid to the Cuban Consulate.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Answers Question on President's Powers

LD0106183393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Answer by President Leonid Kravchuk to unidentified deputy's question at the session of Supreme Soviet on 1 June—live]

[Text] [Deputy] Can you not lead the government without changes and amendments being introduced to the Constitution?

[Kravchuk] Of course, the question is timely and in its way logical. I agree that the head of executive power is responsible for and, what is more, can govern directly all the bodies of executive power, which is written into the constitution.

As you see, although this question was raised in this hall a long time ago, I did not put it forward at the Supreme Council. This question is about direct control of the Cabinet of Ministers.

This situation has arisen only recently. It was when the Supreme Council granted special plenary powers to the Cabinet of Ministers; all of us agreed with that. After the Supreme Council handed over these legislative plenary powers, it became impossible both de facto and de jure, as it were, for the president directly to influence—I would like to stress—the Cabinet of Ministers' decisions. [noise from the hall] Just a minute. Can you listen to what I am saying? This is not just about emotions. Since we are assembled here in order to sort out what has happened, let us sort it out. After all, I am not talking about anything that does not exist.

For example, I cannot abrogate a constitutional decision by the Cabinet of Ministers. I do not have such plenary powers. That is to say, I cannot abrogate or veto a decree. However, even this was not a final decision.

When the government's plenary powers expired on 21 May, a situation arose, a way out of which needed to be found. I put forward the version, that was put forward and submitted by me to the Supreme Council, in accordance with my right to submit my proposal. This is my right, and your right is to vote.

This is the essence of this right, that the president then directly heads the government and directly signs decisions, that the government adopts and assumes responsibility for these decisions, not saying that some other person has signed them, but the president bears responsibility. I have submitted this proposal so that this situation does not occur, i.e. that someone else signs, but the president is responsible.

That is, the main issue is determining powers for the president to head the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. This is a result of that; it derives from it. I know that there were opinions and points of view in the commissions. They can be examined in another way, too.

For example, there is a proposal to leave the existing government, with the president at the head, and sign the government's decisions. No other institutions are introduced. Only two issues are resolved. The president is the head, and he forms the Cabinet of Ministers, the government; the president confirms this government.

This last is defined in current legislation and is defined in the Law on the Cabinet of Ministers. This is my proposal. It has another advantage—that it does not need a change of power at rayon level. But this authority in the rayon will change when we adopt a constitution or a law on elections. We have already agreed there at the Constitutional Commission—naturally if the Supreme Council supports it—that the head of executive authority in the provinces be elected—incidentally, this is laid down in the concept—and that deputies be elected. The deputies elect the chairman; the people elect the head of executive authority. Everything finds its own place. The people elect those, whom it considers necessary to elect.

Then, all structures are changed in accordance with new laws and the elections. Because I am convinced, that if now, as it is proposed here, that the whole structure of power be taken and changed—these are tens of thousands of people, believe me, this is not so simple to do—and confrontation is caused again, and a situation is caused again, where no one governs anything; we cannot lose a single day on this. My proposal and my arguments come to this. They are caused by life, and not by something else. Believe me, this is exactly how it is.

But if the Supreme Council decides to grant the powers to the government that it is asking for, then please, the government then bears full responsibility before the Supreme Council. Then what is the president's role, excuse me for asking? Just to assume responsibility? There you are. Then you determine your stance as you consider necessary. I am not forcing anything onto anyone. I have set forth my point of view and submitted proposals; nothing else.

Parliament Resolution To Extend President's Powers

LD0106210993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Resolution to extend the president's powers read by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ivan Plyushch at the Supreme Soviet session on 1 June—live]

[Excerpt] Esteemed people's deputies! You have been handed out the draft prepared by People's Deputy Anatoliy Tkachuk [member of the Commission on Law and Legislation]. It [voices from the hall]—wait, wait—contains three positions. The first is what we have been talking about, the second is about the president's powers and the third is about presidential representatives. I suggest that we decide on one issue now. In this draft, so that you do not just hear it, I suggest that you look at your copies, there is Article 1: That this law defines the structure and foundations of activity of state executive power until the new constitution of Ukraine is adopted on 1 June [next year]. This can be left as something that is changeable, while everything will be redefined in the constitution.

Second, the head of executive power in Ukraine is the president of Ukraine, who heads and manages the activities of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, full stop.

Third, Article 7 as written here. The division of powers between members of the Cabinet of Ministers, and the procedure for examining issues at sittings of the Cabinet of Ministers, are determined by the president of Ukraine, full stop.

Article 8 here, with us it will be fourth, the sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers are held behind closed doors, unless a decision is taken about an open session. The president of Ukraine, or, upon his instruction, the prime minister of Ukraine, presides over the Cabinet of Ministers sessions.

Fourth [as heard], the Cabinet of Ministers passes resolutions and directives and organizes their implementation. Resolutions of the normative type are signed by the president of Ukraine. Other resolutions and directives are signed by the prime minister of Ukraine. In addition, questions of mutual relations between the president, the cabinet, and the Supreme Council are to be regulated by the law on the Cabinet of Ministers, which is what we have been discussing today. Such is the draft we can now adopt.

Kuchma Speech Reviews Economic Issues

LD0106210093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1452 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Speech by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma at Supreme Soviet session in Kiev—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman, esteemed president, esteemed people's deputies—I will take a little longer, OK?—I will briefly express my opinion about three issues: What kind of situation has emerged in Ukraine in the last three months; what the outlook is; and what, at first glance anyway, we should think about doing.

It is very unfortunate that today's question about the social protection of the population, and many have rightly said that it can hardly be called protection, it is unfortunately not the last time that it has to be considered, or was considered today [sentence as heard]. The transition to world prices for energy carriers, and that has almost been implemented, has fully revealed the distorted state of our economic complex. At a price of 43 rubles per cubic meter of gas as of 1 June, one kilowatt-hour of electric power cannot cost less than 60 karbovantsi. And we have not yet recovered from the increase of the price for electric power up to 30 karbovantsi per kilowatt-hour as of 3 May.

Now already, almost the whole of the chemical industry will be deprived of any sort of profitability, and [deputy] Lishchyna here is a witness to that. The cost price of the metal industry will be reaching 60-70 percent of world prices. Further price rises for gas and for electric power and oil—and you know that Russia too is expecting serious inflation in the next two months—leaves almost no chance for many chemical and metallurgical enterprises.

Such as, for example, the Zaporozhye electric smelting plant, where the cost of electric power makes up 36.5 percent of the cost price of its products; the nickel plants on the Bug and in Kirovograd, the Nikopol ferro-alloy plant, most of the ore-dressing groups of enterprises, practically all the cement plants. Trouble will not spare Stakhanov coal, nor Makeyevka coal. Generally speaking, if we have so far had around 30 percent of unprofitable mines, now their number will increase to around 45 percent.

A difficult situation will emerge in machine-building enterprises. Almost all of them have foundry shops, thermal or chemical-thermal shops, (?galvanizing) shops, etc. All of them have low efficiency, that is why they on the whole cause considerable losses for the enterprises. Besides, prices have increased for steel, non-ferrous metals, and chemical components. And if you take into account the fact that two-thirds of machine-building output does not have a complete production process in Ukraine, then due to the artificially distorted ruble-karbovanets exchange rate, I repeat, the artificially distorted ruble-to-karbovanets exchange rate, we are deprived of the opportunity to buy at low prices semifinished products and components from Russia, and consequently we will deprive ourselves of export opportunities, that is, deprive ourselves of the opportunity to earn money for the country through our labor.

This especially concerns enterprises in the electronics, electrotechnical, and aviation industries, which are our elite sectors. Our nuclear power industry, which produces 30 percent of all electric power in Ukraine, will, it could happen, produce no more from this autumn. To purchase nuclear fuel and the necessary components from Russia we must urgently, within 10 or 15 days, not more, find 140 billion Russian rubles. Otherwise reactors will irreversibly start coming to a halt.

Agriculture and social security are being talked about in this hall on an everyday basis. That is why I will not dwell on them. However, both of them require funds which are unavailable to the government.

To sum up, the major part of Ukraine's export potential can be lost, while a considerable part of products will become unsaleable even on the domestic market. Superposed on a $2.5 billion bill presented by Russia to us as Ukraine's debt, and on this year's [word indistinct] foreign trade balance of approximately, as you know, 2 trillion karbovantsi, one can say that we are in such a situation that there are not even any suitable words to be found for me to describe it. I (?request) that a parliamentary commission should be formed (?on this issue) in order to examine every karbovanets, as it were. (?This is) how weak we are (?today).

Executive power ends beyond the doors of the government's building. Legislative power is concerned about how in a socially just way to divide that which remains in Ukraine. The constitution not only does not correspond with a future society's requirements, but is also inadequate even to those of the present time. Judicial power does not have enough laws to neutralize even those thieves and criminals who act openly.

The forced need to increase exports to Russia will result in the devastation of the domestic market. There will be a further stir of explosive price hikes. The domestic crisis will sharply intensify. Attempts to compensate the shortage of currency with karbovantsi will cause an approximately 10 trillion issue by as early as the end of summer. I will not speak about the political consequences here.

What should be done? First, I would like to stress once again, the monetary and credit and financial policy of Ukraine should be immediately subordinated to one center in order to subordinate it to goods production. Money serves commodity, not vice versa. That is why this is the main issue, and these issues have to be settled instantly, since the lack of correspondence between currency exchange rates results in the loss of billions in a matter of few hours.

Second, the flow of goods at the majority of enterprises should be urgently checked, both in respect of raw materials and materials and components, including auxiliary materials, and in respect of finished output. If an enterprise makes a loss trading with Russia, its finished output should be reoriented toward the West. If this also proves impossible, these enterprises should be transferred to concessionaires or should be sold completely. If that does not work out as well, they should be stopped.

Here an individual plan, both an economic and a social one, has to be drawn up for every enterprise. There cannot be any general approach.

In this situation, the use of any procedures envisaged by laws becomes impossible. For example, privatization. There has to be a choice of either stopping an enterprise or selling it to someone or even giving it away, and the state and the people have to be released from the burden. This process cannot be uncontrolled. (?It has to have a way out), however, this is not all there is to it.

We must go through all foreign trade agreements and reduce losses made by them to the minimum. The same type of steel is being sold to the West both at $200 per tonne and $260 per tonne. The same situation exists in coal, sugar and other things. Let him trade who will earn more currency for Ukraine. In general, registration of foreign economic activity should be introduced in order to see how we sell goods and how we earn currency. An inventory of enterprises working to produce consumer goods should be made, and wider opportunities should be given for product quality to develop and improve. Being privatized under special programs, attracting to themselves investment from private entrepreneurs at home, uniting in financial and industrial companies, and so on should be permitted at these enterprises. And there has to be an individual program for each of these enterprises. It is necessary to learn to run a business taking account of foreign economic circumstances.

I will now talk about things which many might not like. Is there anyone in this hall who believes that Russia has left the Black Sea Fleet and the Sevastopol base to remain in Ukraine? Let us weigh it up. It will be a long time before Russia leaves Sevastopol. This is reality. So, we should take money from Russia for this reality, rather than pay for it ourselves. [applause] Let them pay for the use of the naval base, just like the Americans pay the Philippines and many others. The Foreign Ministry should clarify how much such kind of a base is at world prices, and an agreement with Russia should be concluded. Otherwise, ideological dreaming will cost us very dear.

Now, we shall have to build relations with Russia on a purely economic contractual basis. A whole number of political decisions will immediately need to be taken for this purpose, which are solely within the Ukrainian president's competence. I would like to stress once again, solely the president's competence.

Besides, like it or not, we have already entered a hyperinflationary spiral. Therefore a ration card system for distributing products should be prepared. A tougher system of managing state enterprises should be prepared. Besides, we should support production with all levers, such as (?non-liquid) types of products as uranium concentrate, high-purity metals, some kinds of weapons, aviation construction, and electronic instrument construction. We should even review the system for taxing these enterprises.

I can still tell you a lot about what needs to be done. But all of this will be wasted if ideological considerations outweigh economic pragmatism. If laws run counter to people's interests, then the laws should give way, not the people. This is the first element. If the implementation of a decision, which has been adopted, is not carried through to the end, it is not worth adopting the decision at all. This is the second thing. If economic and financial policy are not coordinated, and a single complex of actions for reaching the goal is not created, it is not worth commencing these actions. This is the third thing. We worked in this way—the bank, the government, the Supreme Council, and all of us. We worked until we got to this state.

Further, all should be, I emphasize again, like it or not, all executive authority should be concentrated in one person. This person should be the president. Because in order to do this, many, as I have already said, both political and socioeconomic decisions need to be adopted. It is entirely the truth, that the government had a program for getting out of the economic crisis. For a socio-psychological political crisis reigns in Ukraine, but the economic crisis is only its reflection. The government can soften it or sharpen it. But it cannot resolve it. The socio-psychological and political crisis does not submit to economic influence. The government is capable of keeping the situtation from crumbling, but not for long.

I recalled in my speech of 18 May that we need to decide what sort of society we are building. I am returning to this issue again. If it is one with a market economy, then actions should be appropriate. Then there cannot be talk of whether to sell land or not—the answer is to sell—or whether to sell means of production to private individuals—the answer is to sell. These are the demands of a market economy. This means there is a proportion of resources, products, and capital on markets. (?There is no) capital yet. And all laws which get in the way of this should be abolished.

If we are building a socialist economy, then there should be a state plan, with calculations for the necessary division of resources, calculated prices and wages, a ban on free external economic activity, the recreation of state supply and so on. This needs to be decided. Because one cannot walk by tripping one leg against the other, you will fall. The issue of what sort of society we are building is the main one today, both for the government and for the president.

I emphasize again, I have no doubt that in the current situation one should support the president, and the last thing. You should understand me. Because you will stop respecting me. I am not taking back my statement, and I ask that you do not take away the president's constitutional right to decide with whom he is to work. Thank you for your attention.

Officials Prevent Divulgence of 'State Secrets'

LD0106143593 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 0831 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] During the past month alone staffers of the state committee for the protection of state secrets in the press and other mass media have prevented the divulgence of over 40 secret items of information which could do considerable harm to the interests of Ukraine. Over that period of time they have consulted more than 9,000 compilations of printed materials.

The committee staffers paid much attention to preventive work: during the past month they held 77 studies with personnel of publishing houses and editorial boards of newspapers and magazines, and gave 463 consultations on the legal protection of state secrets.

Former Soviet 98th Airborne Division Leaves Odessa Oblast

WS0106143293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] The last convoy of equipment and property belonging to the former 98th Airborne Soviet Army division has left the town of Bolgrad in Odessa Oblast. A joint meeting of Ukrainian and Russian officers was held on the eve of the event. Lieutenant-General Sorokin and General-Major Vostrotin were awarded "Commander" watches for active participation in fruitful cooperation between the Russian and the Ukrainian Armed Forces aimed at strengthening friendship between the two peoples.

Belarus

Shushkevich on 'Right To Make Provisos' to CIS Treaty

WS0206080493 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] The Supreme Soviet resumed its work yesterday after a three-day break. In the history of the Supreme Soviet, its chairmen did not often ask for permission to speak during the discussion of miscellaneous issues. Stanislav Shushkevich took the floor during the morning session. His speech was prompted by the article entitled: Why the Provisos Were Not Adopted, written by Mechislav Hryb, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for National Security, Defense, and Fighting Organized Crime and published in NARODNAYA GAZETA on 1 June. The article deals with collective security. The chairman read the text of the letter, which he had sent to the heads of states which are signatories to the treaty, and declared that Belarus is going to reserve the right to make provisos to different articles of the treaty. In accordance with the Declaration of the National Sovereignty, the Republic will terminate its membership in the CIS collective security system at the moment of final withdrawal of the Russian Federation's strategic weapons and the contingent of Russian troops from Belarusian territory under the provisions of bilateral agreements and international treaties.

Deputies, Shushkevich Address Supreme Soviet

LD0206083493 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1715 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I pass the microphone to my colleagues, Valyantsina Verashchagina and Lyudmila Makarava, who today followed the work of the Supreme Soviet session of the Republic of Belarus very attentively. They will acquaint you with the issues discussed by the people's deputies.

[Unidenified correspondent] As always, the deputies started their work today at the parliament with miscellaneous issues. According to tradition we will include that section in full in our report, but slightly later. Now we will talk about those draft laws on which the people's deputies worked today. In the morning, they returned to the discussion of the draft law on the basics of serving in the state apparatus.

However, despite the fact that the majority of its articles were approved on Friday, the session did not adopt the draft and it was returned to the commission for additional work. Almost an hour was spent by the parliamentarians on consideration of the draft law on the procedure for leaving and entering the Republic of Belarus by citizens of the republic in its second reading. The deputies did not adopt the second article concerning the unacceptability of limitation of rights of citizens who leave the republic for permanent residence in other countries.

The commission for issues of glasnost, mass media and human rights accepted the draft law for additional work. We will not be mistaken if we say that the session spent most of its time today on the draft law on health protection. [passage omitted] The law was not adopted.

Now, as promised, we offer for your attention speeches by some of the deputies on miscellaneous issues. [passage omitted]

[Anatol Volkaw] "I have received from the Chernobyl zone over 100 worrying letters which are literally a cry for help to the children who suffer from the most serious disease—cancer of the thyroid gland. The letters are tears and appeals of parents of these poor children. Cancer of the thyroid gland is an unquestionable proof of the effect of the Chernobyl catastrophe on people's health. There are 1,500 people, including 200 children, with this diagnosis in the republic. [passage omitted]"

[Mikhail Kachan] "Esteemed people's deputies and the presidium. On 29-30 May, the second congress of the Party of Communists of Belarus was held. The congress adopted the account by the Political Executive Committee of the work carried out after the constituent congress of the party and the immediate tasks of the party for the nearest future. The congress adopted a party program, amendments to the rules, elected the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of the Party of Communists. The second congress of the Party of Communists of Belarus issued an address to the 12th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus. Let me make that address public: The address of the second congress of the Communist Party, of the joint congress of the Party of Communists of Belarus to the 12th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus.

"The second congress of the Party of Communists of Belarus, which is a unifying congress, draws attention of the people's deputies of the Republic of Belarus to the need for immediate consideration of the issue on unacceptability of the introduction of free prices on basic foodstuffs. In our opinion it is not too late today to prevent the step, which has not been thought out thoroughly, which can lead to a social outburst with unpredictable consequences.

"Understanding clearly the connection between the prices and the general state of the economy, we appeal to the Supreme Soviet to adopt concrete measures for restoring normal economic relations with the republics and regions of the former USSR. Otherwise a collapse of production, mad inflation rates, total poverty of the majority of the population and the rapid growth of unemployment will lead to a national catastrophe.

"The delegates of the congress are convinced that the only way to avoid this is through economic, defense and other unions and agreements on reviving a union state, thus fulfilling the will of the people that was expressed at the 17 March 1991 referendum." [passage omitted]

[Stanislav Shushkevich] "Esteemed people's deputies, I clearly would not address you today if NARODNAYA GAZETA had not published an article by people's deputy Myachyslaw Ivanavich Gryb, entitled: 'Why Have the Reservations Not Been Adopted?'

"Unfortunately the esteemed Myachyslaw Ivanavich presents the issue in such a way as if the Supreme Soviet Presidium and some members of [word indistinct] Supreme Soviet did not subordinate to the decision of the Supreme Soviet. The misunderstanding is due to the fact that Myachyslaw Ivanavich believes that the members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium should have exactly the same opinion as himself. Unfortunately they have a different opinion, and it is their right. When a situation like this occurs, then, in accordance with your resolution and with your instruction, I have the right to implement this decision even without advice of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Which is exactly what I did. Esteemed Myachyslaw Ivanavich might have made certain of that if he had asked me. But he did not ask me and did not express interest about how this issue had gone through the apparatus of the Council for Security, the apparatus which works at the Supreme Soviet.

"Therefore, I will have to read for you the letter which I, on 28 May 1993, sent to the heads of state, participants in the collective security treaty. It is in Russian, therefore I will read it in Russian:

"To all. It means, there is no title—to Ter-Petrosyan, Nazarbayev, Akayev, Yeltsin, Karimov, Rakhmonov. For example, Esteemed Boris Nikolayevich! As proof of the adherence of the Republic of Belarus to the principles of the CIS and my deep respect for you, I have the honor to tell you that by the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, as of 8 April 1993 I am authorized to sign on behalf of the Republic of Belarus the treaty on collective security that was concluded on 15 May 1992 in Tashkent, with a statement on reservations concerning its articles 4, 6 and 7.

"The Republic of Belarus considers the necessary help which it provides in case of an act of aggression against any of the participating states in the treaty as material, technical and military consultancy help. This concerns Article 4. A contingent of the armed forces of the Republic of Belarus outside its borders can be used only on the basis of a relevant decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus. The Republic of Belarus does not send its conscripts and servicemen to serve in the unified armed forces of the CIS.

"From the moment of signing the treaty, military formations and sites of armed forces of other participating states in the treaty are not deployed on the territory of the Republic of Belarus. A decision on the introduction to, and the use of armed forces of other participating states in the treaty on the territory of the Republic of Belarus is made by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus in accordance with its constitutional procedures.

"This is the wording that did not get the necessary majority at the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Since the Presidium did not confirm the reservations, I considered it possible to voice my opinion on this issue in the spirit of the discussion which had been held, and made the following statement:

"The Republic of Belarus preserves the right also to make other reservations on particular articles of the collective security treaty, or to point out the ones outlined during the ratification of that document by the Supreme Soviet. Adhering to the constitutional law—the declaration of state sovereignty—which envisages Belarus achieving neutral status, the Republic of Belarus intends to stop its participation in the system of collective security of the CIS from the moment of full withdrawal of the contingent of troops and strategic armaments of the Russian Federation from the territory of Belarus within the framework of the relevant bilateral agreements and international agreements. Letters of similar content have been sent also to other heads of state of the participating countries in the collective security treaty, with sincere respect and assurances of my deep respect and my signature.

"Therefore, one should not create such artificial situations when the issue has been reserved. Thank you for your attention." [passage omitted]

Moldova

Russia's Stepankov Arrives for Talks on Law Enforcement

LD2805182993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1630 GMT 28 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau May 20 [date as received] TASS—Russia's Procurator-General Valentin Stepankov arrived in Moldova today for talks and the signing of agreements between the two republics in the field of law enforcement.

Stepankov and his Moldovan counterpart Dumitru Postovan are expected to sign an agreement on legal assistance between the top prosecutor's offices of the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation.

The agreement provides for interaction between the law-enforcement agencies of the two countries in investigating crimes, locating criminals, exchanging information, rehabilitating unlawfully convicted people and protecting refugees.

Also on Friday, Stepankov was received by Moldova's President Mircea Snegur and Parliament Speaker Petru Lucinski.

Discusses Ties, Tiraspol Trial With Snegur

AU2905161293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1436 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/5/1993—The president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, has had an interview with Valentin Stepankov, general prosecutor of the Russian Federation, currently on a visit to Chisinau, meeting during which an exchange of opinion was made over the fight against criminality, according to a MOLDOVA PRESS broadcast.

Also discussed were the social and political situation in the Republic of Moldova and in the Russian Federation, the two states considering that both are developing relations starting from the principle of their territorial independence and integrity.

Related to last minute developments in the eastern districts of the Republic of Moldova and especially the mock trial currently taking place in Tiraspol, Mircea Snegur considered that they would not bring by any means an improvement to the situation. In his opinion, the conservatist forces are those interested in such an anti-constitutional trial, forces which are aiming political interests. President Snegur stated once again that the files of the political detainees should be passed to constitutional judiciary bodies of the Republic of Moldova, runs the dispatch of the MOLDOVA PRESS.

Snegur Says Economy on 'Verge of Bankruptcy'

LD0106155093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Moldova's economy is on the verge of bankruptcy, President Mircea Snegur has announced. He stressed that it is not simply a matter of an economic crisis, but also of an acute crisis of state power at all levels. There is only one conclusion, Mircea Snegur said: Either the present parliament and government implement urgent measures to overcome the crisis, or they make way for those who are able to do this.

New PSDM President Favors Early Parliamentary Elections

AU0106120893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2013 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 31/5/1993—The work of the first congress of the Social Democratic Party of Moldova [PSDM] finished yesterday. As president of the party, Oazu Nantoi was elected, who before the congress previously occupied the post of co-president of the PSDM. The congress adopted the programme and the status of the PSDM and a list of resolutions. During the press conference, which took place immediately after the congress, Nantoi reaffirmed the opinion of the PSDM for anticipated elections in parliament on a basis of pluralism. At the same time he avoided clarifying which party of political movement will the PSDM unit in the course of future elections. "Under the circumstances when Parliament is incapable of proposing anything, the Presidential structure also exists. One has to assume the responsibility in present conditions", clarified Nantoi. With regard to the problem of unification with Romania, Nantoi stated that the PSDM pleads for the sovereignty of Moldova, economic and cultural integration with the neighboring country, but not for the creation of a unitary state in the form of a Greater Romania. "The resolution of Dniester conflict is also viewed by us through the consideration of the sovereignty of Moldova", concluded Nantoi.

Kazakhstan

Georgia's Shevardnadze Visits, Meets With Nazarbayev

LD0106151893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1427 GMT 1 Jun 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Almaty June 1 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze arrived in Kazakhstan this afternoon for a tete-a-tete meeting with Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. At the same time, negotiations of Georgian and Kazakh Government delegations were under way.

The sides discussed a broad range of political and economic issues of mutual interest. Special attention was paid to prospects for the development of bilateral relations. The state heads stressed Kazakhstan and Georgia are striving for the expansion of these relations on the basis of norms of the international law and principles of sovereign equality.

They expressed concern over Georgian current developments, in particular, with those in Abkhazia. Eduard Shevardnadze informed the Kazakh leader of measures he takes to peacefully settle the conflict. Nazarbayev positively estimated the results of a recent Georgian-Russian summit in Moscow and confirmed his readiness to contribute to the soonest settlement of the Abkhazian conflict.

When discussing regional problems, the officials focused on the situation in hotbeds on territory of the former Soviet Union. Both of them expressed hope for the soonest termination of conflicts and voiced their striving to contribute to this.

Shevardnadze supported Nazarbayev's initiative to convene a conference on security and confidence-building measures in Asia. The sides confirmed the invariability of their course towards the consolidation of independence, creation of democratic institutes, large-scale reforms and transition to the market economy. They said both states will contribute to the development of cooperation between countries of the Black and Caspian Sea basin.

Shevardnadze invited Nazarbayev to visit Georgia.

Agrees to Trade Deals

LD0206111093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] As already reported, a Georgian Government delegation, led by Eduard Shevardnadze, has visited Kazakhstan. Eduard Shevardnadze, the parliament chairman and head of state, who arrived for a working visit in the capital of Kazakhstan yesterday, held talks with President Nursultan Nazarbayev. At the same time, talks were held between the Georgian and Kazakh government delegations.

The sides discussed a wide range of political and economic issues of interest for both countries. Special treatment was given to the prospects for developing bilateral relations. The heads of state stressed that Kazakhstan and Georgia are striving to expand this cooperation on the basis of international law and principles of sovereign equality. The sides agreed that Kazakhstan would send Georgia 100,000 tonnes of grain crops in the immediate future. Provided that this year's harvest is good, Kazakhstan binds itself to supply the Republic of Georgia with 500,000 tonnes of grain crops by the end of the year. In exchange, Kazakhstan will receive from Georgia electric locomotives, manganese, wine and brandy.

President Nazarbayev supported Shevrdnadze's idea to construct a transportation corridor between Europe and Asia. It would allow Kazakhstan to export more than 40 million tonnes of oil products, while Georgia would be able to solve its energy problems.

The two leaders expressed concern over the current developments in Georgia, particularly in Abkhazia. Shevardnadze familiarized Kazakhstan's president with measures which are to be taken to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Nursultan Nazarbayev was positive in his assessment of the results of the recent summit meeting in Moscow between Russia and Georgia. He said he is ready to assist in a speedy settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia.

This information was provided by the IPRINDA agency.

Indian Prime Minister Views Results of Visit, Talks

LD2805150393 Almaty Radio Almaty World Service in English 1830 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] On 25 May, Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao arrived in Almaty for an official visit. Upon his arrival, President Nursultan Nazarbayev received the prime minister at his residence. During their talks the Kazakhstan president and the Indian prime minister discussed issues related to the present state and the perspectives of the development of the Kazakh-Indian relations as well as the current international issues.

[Begin Rao recording] Both India and Kazakhstan believe in secular principles, healthy pluralism, equality between communities and cultural groups composing the nation, and in the territorial integrity of states. Such understanding and commitment to ideals provides the basis for our confidence that Kazakhstan and India have a bright future in their collaboration in diverse fields—collaboration that is born of mutual esteem and friendship.

Without going into all the aspects of our bilateral relations, I may simply say that our political thinking has extensive similarities that [words indistinct] in our time. There has been a good start on the commercial side with ministerial visits, two business and industrial missions, and the first Indian trade exhibition in Almaty. In technical cooperation, India offers her experience to assist in building up professional status in Kazakhstan.

There are important sectors where we have discussed strengthening collaboration, such as in agriculture and biotechnology, hydro- carbons, space, etc. We are looking forward to the visit to India of a parliamentary delegation from Kazakhstan at the end of this year.

Culture constitutes a special bond between us, and in acknowledging this it has been decided to establish an Indian cultural center in Almaty. [end recording]

After the two state leaders' tete-a-tete talks, negotiations were held between the two delegations, respectively headed by the Kazakhstan president and the Indian prime minister.

The Indian prime minister declared that the Indian Government has decided to give Kazakhstan a $10 million credit for supporting the establishment of Kazakh-Indian joint ventures, and for helping Kazakhstan to import Indian goods.

[Begin Rao recording] We want entreprenuers and private enterprises from both sides to make lasting partnerships. As token of our cooperative efforts the Government of India is also making available a line of credit, as the president was just pleased to tell you. We are aware also of possibilities in a priority social sector like pharmaceuticals, where India and Kazakhstan have had extensive interaction in the past. We will be happy to explore new areas of cooperation for the mutual benefit of the peoples of our two countries, and I do hope that this visit of mine will give an impetus to this process.

Any high level visits are extremely important in maintaining relations between countries. I have invited President Nazarbayev to visit India at the earliest time of mutual convenience, and I am glad to say that he has been good enough to accept it. Thank you. [end recording]

Narasimha Rao has also proposed to establish an Indian cultural centre in Almaty, and also he extended his invitation for President Nazarbayev to visit India again in the near future.

During the negotiations, the foreign ministers of the two countries, Tuleutai Suleymenov and Salman Khursheed, signed several agreements for cooperations in the sphere of science and technology. They have also signed a protocol which is related to the cooperation of the foreign political departments of the two countries.

Tajikistan

Head of State Rakhmanov Grants Interview

LD3005182393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1115 GMT 30 May 93

[Interview with Imamali Sharipovich Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, by correspondents Andrey Skryabin, Lyudmila Telen, and Yuliy Semonov; Rakhmanov in Dushanbe; correspondents in Ostankino's Moscow studio; from the "Live Dialogue" program—live]

[Text] [Skryabin] Hello, esteemed viewers. Today on "Live Dialogue" you will meet Imamali Sharipovich Rakhmanov, head of state and chairman of the Republic of Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet. Hello, sir. First of all, let me thank you for agreeing to conduct this program in Russian.

Allow me to introduce to you the journalists participating here. They are Lyudmila Telen, a correspondent for the MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI newspaper, Yuliy Semonov, a correspondent for the Mayak radio station, and myself, Andrey Skryabin, a correspondent for the Ostankino television company.

I want to remind our viewers that a multiline telephone is working. The number is 095-217-4563. If you permit, Mr. Chairman, we will begin immediately with questions.

My first question: Our last television bridge with Tajikistan was just over a year ago, when events had only just begun in Tajikistan that led to tragedy in the republic, when tens of thousands of people died. What, in your view, was behind these events and the political crisis in 1992?

[Rakhmanov] Good day, dear viewers. First of all, let us not simplify things, since at the base of all these events there are many factors—economic, ethnic-nationalist, psychological, religious, and many other factors. I think that historians will have their say. I can only note here that this was a struggle of ideas, the idea of middle ages obscurantism, represented by Islamic fundamentalism, and the idea of progress and the democratic development of society.

With regard to the struggle of democracy and the post-communist regime—about which, incidentally, newspapers and magazines often talk and write—I must say with full responsibility that those forces in Tajikistan that acted under the cover of democracy were just a screen for the Islamic Revival Party. It is a fact that in its composition there are professional murderers, cutthroats, aggressors, and thieves who plunder their own people and can hardly be called democrats.

The accusation is made often that the communist regime has been restored in Tajikistan. I firmly state that there is no communist regime; we have a single regime supported by the people.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. I give the floor to the only woman among us. Lyudmila, go ahead.

[Telen] Mr. Rakhmanov, you have said that there could be no question of restoring the communist regime in Tajikistan. However, we know that the Communist Party is one of the largest and most influential parties in the republic today. Its structure in industry is being restored at present. At the same time, opposition parties are practically not working, and there are even suggestions that their activities should be suspended. Could you please give us your personal attitude toward the Communist Party. Are you a member?

[Rakhmanov] You know, I want to tell you right away that yes, indeed, the Communist Party was the only party that was not involved in the fratricidal war, in the civil war, during these events. I mean, the Islamic Revival Party and the so-called Democratic Party of the republic were deeply involved and were the initiators of the events.

I can give you the following example. I have never seen, heard, or read about any country in the world where a party would put down in its membership cards that it was allowed to carry or use arms—to use armored vehicles against people. Only here in Tajikistan, during those events, they gave permission to use arms and stated this in their membership cards, with two round seals signed by the chairman.

As for the Communist Party of Tajikistan, at that time it, in fact, occupied a neutral position. It is pursuing its own policy. I can tell you that I am a member of the party. I know many journalists want to know whether the new government is pro- communist. I would tell them unequivocally: The government was elected at 16th session of the Supreme Soviet in December 1992 in the town of Khodzhent, and not at a plenary session or congress of the party. This is my unequivocal reply to your question.

[Telen] Then one more question on the same subject: As far as our television viewers know, you and the Russian president have recently signed a treaty on cooperation between the two countries. Nevertheless, literally the last issue of the GOLOS TAJIKISTANA newspaper—this is the newspaper of the Communist Party of Tajikistan of which you are a member and that supports the authorities and says so—published this article, which is called "Goebels Will Be Proud," where the Russian president was called a representative of a criminal clique. Yeltsin's government was called a gang, and so on and so forth. How would you assess this kind of publication?

[Rakhmanov] I am quite unequivocal on this. There are always correspondents who want a resumption of enmity between regions and nationalities. There are plenty such correspondents in Tajikistan and everywhere else, in other countries. About the meeting, we naturally signed a number of bilateral agreements and wide-ranging treaties. I think that, on the basis of these agreements, our bilateral relations and mutual aid from Russia to Tajikistan will continue to develop. I would say that this has no bearing at all on those issues.

[Semonov] Can we say that you are condemning that article?

[Rakhmanov] Yes.

[Telen] And the Communist Party's position regarding the president of Russia?

[Rakhmanov] That was the position of the journalist, who was speaking his mind.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Over to you, Yuliy.

[Semonov] Mr. Chairman, you said that there were many reasons for the conflict in Tajikistan, which so tragically spilled over into civil war. As far as I know, one of the reasons was that various clans in various areas of Tajikistan were fighting for overall and nationwide leadership of the state. Was that so, and does this problem remain today?

[Rakhmanov] Well, if you judge by what happened in the past, then what you said is not entirely correct. At present there are no clan aspirations or would-be presidents in a power struggle. This was, however, the case for a long time. The leaders themselves admit this, and there is much documented evidence that they were, in fact, preparing for the events that cost the lives of many thousands of people back in 1978.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Sir, what is your view of the current political situation in the republic, and in what direction is it changing? Let me also ask a second question at the same time: There are reports in the media that you and your government are a government of revenge. What do you think of this problem?

[Rakhmanov] At present, following such events as the recent natural disaster in our republic, things are rather difficult. The people in our republic are now going about their peaceful business, and our borders are being reinforced by peacekeeping forces and our own internal forces. There are also people involved in reinforcing the borders further. I think they will be reinforced reliably in the future.

As for the situation inside the republic, communication has now been established with all the regions. As you know, over 17 rayons are currently without functioning power structures. The people support the new government. I believe that, with the help of our own people and that of our fraternal neighbors and the members of the Commonwealth, we shall be able to restore our ruined economy within the next two to three years.

Regarding the second question, the suggestion that ours is a government of revenge, I would say that we have no reason to be like that, because this government was elected at the 16th session of the republic's Supreme Soviet and it serves its people. To be perfectly frank, it is the former government that was a government of revenge: it was a government of democrats and Islamites.

[Skryabin] Before I let Lyuda ask her question, I would like to ask one of my own. You touched on the issue of opposition parties. In your opinion, what do these parties and public movements in the opposition represent?

[Rakhmanov] Well, initially our laws did ban the registration of the Islamic Revival Party, although locally they were preparing to do so in violation of the republic's Constitution. At the time, the so-called smoke screen of the Islamic Revival Party—the Democratic-Islamists—formed the Popular Democratic Party. It was registered at a session of the Supreme Soviet. Within a very short time, the Islamic Revival Party became very active. At the time of the session, its members were forcibly stopping people's deputies right in the parliamentary chamber and holding demonstrations several months long, demanding that all the deputies would be taken hostage if the Islamic Revival Party was not registered.

They have done that since then. The deputies opted for compromise and agreed; that is, they decided to register the Islamic Revival Party. Immediately, 17 people's deputies were taken hostage in exchange for a list of 17 demands, including the resignation of comrade Safarali Kendzhayev, the now former chairman of the Supreme Soviet; comrade Khuvaydullayev, the now-deceased procurator-general; and others.

This is what the Democratic Party has been doing, and the people have seen that they are really the smoke screen of the Islamic Revival Party. That is, these chairmen of the Democratic Party had no authority at rallies and demonstrations, and they were not even allowed to the microphones. So they were all servants of the Islamic Revival Party and were always part of the spiritual board [kaziyat] of the republic and were carrying out the orders of the former Grand Kazi of the Republic, Haji Akhbar Turajonzoda, chairman of the spiritual board [kaziyator].

What is happening now is that, after the election at the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet in December, I officially invited the leaders of all political parties and movements to Dushanbe to hold a dialogue to stop the fratricidal war and end the bloodshed. But by that time, they were already in other countries, from where they now heap insults on us for hindering them from returning with hopes of power.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Lyuda.

[Telen] I would like to continue on this subject. As far as I understand, your attitude toward the opposition remains intransigent. Nevertheless, I would like to remind you that the Khodzhent session of 1992 passed a decision on political amnesty for the opposition. At present, criminal proceedings have been instituted against some leaders of the opposition. In any case, there have been such reports. Opposition newspapers are practically not published in Dushanbe, and many journalists of these newspapers have been forced to go to Russia. How would you comment on these facts? Is a dialogue with the opposition possible?

[Skryabin] Imamali Sharipovich, in addition to this question: What is the fate of the public figures who took an active part in the events of last year?

[Rakhmanov] You know, after the session, many leaders of these parties and movements went to other countries straight from the town of Khodzhent; first of all, to Moscow and from there to other Arabic countries and Islamic states—Iran, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and other countries. You know, political amnesty was indeed granted, and we also held meetings between leaders of these armed groupings, field commanders, the People's Front, and the opposition. We organized them in order to stop the fratricidal war.

It was not taken unequivocally on their part, however. When we entered the town, they continued to forcibly hang Islamic flags in certain regions. For example, in Garmskiy Rayon, an Islamic flag had been hanging there for two to three months, and an Islamic state was announced there. The rayon was liberated some time in February. They were not subordinated to any lawful government and were committing excesses. They continued to kill civilians. Of course, it is not worth sitting down at a negotiating table with these opposition leaders, because they should have been answerable to the law of the their people for what they had done against their people after the law was adopted.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Let us continue our program. Yuliy.

[Semonov] You know, so far, we have been basically talking about the past and only to a certain extent about the present situation in Tajikistan. Well, as far as we are aware, you are seeking to stabilize the economic and political situation in your country. Well, even people who are not involved in the political struggle in Tajikistan say that you are a harsh leader. Do you think of yourself as such, and is this correct?

[Rakhmanov] Well, I would say that this depends on what you consider to be harsh. In comparison, if one may consider harshness against crime, with regard to maintaining public order, and against those who defend the rights of the individual, of course, I am quite harsh.

[Semonov] Well, in connection with the subject of crime—which you yourself have broached—you are presumably well aware that the Central Asian Railway Board has stopped railway traffic along the Dushanbe-Tashkent route. Prior to that, it had stopped railway traffic along the Dushanbe-Ashgabat route. This is in connection with attacks by some kind of armed groups on trains. What are these? Political acts or common crimes?

[Rakhmanov] No. This is due to the fact that there are criminal groups—not only within our country but also in other countries and states. I will give just one example. During December and January in the capital, in the town of Dushanbe alone, more than 80 large and small groups of more than 200 people involved in burglaries, murders, and drug-peddling were detained by the administrative bodies. I would say, however, that these were not only people from within our republic, but people are also involved here who are citizens from other countries.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Now, if you will allow me, sir, you and I will have a kind of lightning interview based on television viewers' questions. You have already answered some of the television viewers' questions that we have received. Now, here are some more, if you will permit me.

Moscow. Kovalenko asks what will happen to the Rogun hydroelectric station and about its future existence. He says that he helped to build this hydroelectric station.

[Rakhmanov] You know, on the 25th, when I had a meeting with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the [word indistinct] development of our future relations in different industries was clearly defined. Boris Nikolayevich has visited these places himself: the Nurek hydroelectric station, the Rogun hydroelectric station, the Dangarinskiy irrigation tunnel, and the Sang-Tudinskaya hydroelectric station. He is very well aware of these places.

It is true that not only Kovalenko and those specialists, but also many heads of ministries and departments, expressed an interest during the meeting in the fate of this giant. Soon, approximately during the first 10 days of June, a large delegation is coming to visit us from Russia to study the situation on the ground and the continuation of the construction of the Rogun hydroelectric station and the development of bilateral relations in other industries.

It is true that we have a very difficult situation with our budgets at present. You must realize that the new government began functioning from scratch after the civil war. Despite these difficulties, the construction of the Rogun hydroelectric station is continuing.

[Skryabin] Thank you. An additional question from Nina Valentinovna Tyazhelova of Kurgan-Tyube: Do you have an interest in the remaining Russians—medical workers, teachers, and other specialists—not leaving Tajikistan, and what steps are you and the government in Tajikistan taking on this?

[Rakhmanov] Thank you. Really, at the meeting in Moscow as well, and in the signed bilateral agreement and treaty, there are individual articles that touch on the protection of the rights and freedoms of the Russian-speaking population living in our republic. Yes, we want them. Of course, over a year after the civil war, and particularly after the speech by Shodmon Yusuf, the former chairman of the republic's so-called Democratic Party—who said that the Russian-speaking population were hostages—good specialists, and more than 80,000 Russian-speakers living in Tajikistan left for Russia.

Incidentally, I want to inform you that the reverse process is taking place now. People are returning. We will be glad to meet them, and we will take all measures so that they remain. On the contrary, we are giving specialists written invitations to live and construct the democratic state of Tajikistan.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Here is another whole batch of questions, from Samokhina, Rosa Dzhakhedovna, of Kaliningrad Oblast; Benyaz, Valentina Ivanovna, a refugee, of Chelyabinsk; and Grigoryev, Nikolay Nikolayevich, of Surgut. They all ask the same question. Many of them, either they or their relatives, are refugees. What they want to know is what will happen to their homes. Their apartments in Tajikistan have been destroyed. Will there be any form of compensation? Also, looking at it generally, how do you and your government plan to tackle this problem in Tajikistan?

[Rakhmanov] A law on refugees was passed at the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet, immediately after my election as chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Until now, over half a million refugees have returned. We, the government, have indeed taken all possible measures to house them and give them material assistance. Of course, we will help them.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Here is my last question, from Olga Miroslavskaya of Nizhniy Novgorod: Does Tajikistan plan to introduce its own currency?

[Rakhmanov] I do not think we have any such intention yet. We are in the ruble zone, and that is where we will remain.

[Skryabin] Thank you. Now it is the turn of a great campaigner for liberty and the freedom of the individual. Go ahead.

[Telen] I do not think you needed to smile so ironically when you said that, Andrey. Nevertheless, I really do have a whole batch of questions dealing with human rights violations in Tajikistan. In particular, viewers are interested in the fate of Sabirov, a poet and holder of the state prize; of four journalists who are at present under investigation in solitary confinement; and of journalists who have been forced to leave Tajikistan as a result of the persecution to which they have been subjected. There are also questions about the recent situation concerning Igor Ratar, a correspondent for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

I would like to ask my question in broader terms than those specific questions. As you know, there has been no reply from you to four letters that the human rights organization, Helsinki Watch, has sent the leadership of

Tajikistan. The same is true of two letters from Amnesty International and another two from the International Committee for the Protection of Journalists. [organization name as heard]

Is this because you think the human rights situation in Tajikistan is ideal, or have you simply not had time to answer these inquiries from international human rights organizations? What is the reason?

[Rakhmanov] You know, I am also interested, in general, in those many journalists, lawyers, and leaders who touch on the issue of human rights. Why are they analyzing everything, producing quotes, after December? Why do they not analyze from May to December what the situation was in the capital, in the republic as a whole? When in broad daylight, in the republic's capital itself, the republic's procurator general, the late Nurullo, was brutally murdered? Five people's deputies—one of them from the Supreme Soviet, professors and scholars, even students—were buried alive near Dushanbe. No one wrote at that time. No one wrote that human rights were being violated in Dushanbe. At the present time, they really do write a lot. I know who the leaders are—the fathers of the people of Tajikistan. I know where they are and what they are doing. We know. Not only I know; the people know. You know what I would like to tell you. Yes, we will be responsible; we will adhere to all international treaties on human rights violations. At the present time in Tajikistan, we have, not a commission but a delegation from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, headed by Comrade Kovalev, head of a Russian Supreme Soviet committee.

Yesterday, we visited two rayons with the delegation members, where we met the people. They were with us and met the people. They will probably have their say, however. In February, we invited journalists to our state, and more than 70 journalists from 45 countries flew in to us. They were shown the whole region, the oblasts, so they could see everything with their own eyes. They did not meet the leadership. They met the people so that they really wrote, hand on heart, what they had seen and what is going on here.

Regarding Bozor Sabirov, he was recently given television air time. He made a speech. He was asked how he is being treated there. I can show you this cassette and send it to Moscow so you can see it. In his speech, he said quite unambiguously when the journalists asked the question that he was joking. Is the spilled blood of more than 20,000 innocent people and the colossal damage to the republic of 300,000 million really a joke for him?

[Telen] I am sorry, but you did not answer my question concerning relations with international human rights organizations.

[Rakhmanov] I very much understand what you have said. We have recently invited representatives of international organizations, of the United Nations, and they are here now. We have recently had a major and representative delegation led by Sweden's foreign minister, whom we invited. They are also involved in this and are interested in these issues. They satisfied themselves. We even gave them the opportunity to meet those people who you would call political leaders. Only we have no such political leaders.

[Skryabin] Yes, I see. Thank you. Yuliy, now it is your turn to ask a question.

[Semonov] Dear friends, you know, I am also an ardent supporter of the observance of human rights. Nonetheless, I propose that we change the nature of our conversation. Let us recall, all of us, that Tajikistan has really suffered a terrible tragedy. Apart from the severe aftermath of the civil war, the republic was also hit by a natural calamity. If I am not mistaken, the damage is estimated at about 100 billion rubles [R]. Therefore, I would like to ask you this. This program is being watched by tens of millions of people, including leaders of Commonwealth states. So, what can and must be done to help you now?

[Rakhmanov] Yes, thank you. Indeed, at a recent summit of heads of states and heads of governments in Moscow, convened at the initiative of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov, an additional item was put on the agenda, on providing practical assistance to Tajikistan in the wake of the natural disaster. I can give you the figures. Russia's Government provided emergency aid to overcome the aftermath of the disaster amounting to over R25 billion and R5 billion as a permanent loan. [sentence and figures as heard] Other countries did their share too. First of all, we have received food, medicines, and fuel from Uzbekistan needed to replant cotton and vegetables. At present, the destroyed economy is being restored. Aid is arriving from many countries: from Kazakhstan, from all the Commonwealth countries, from the United States, from the United Nations, and from the International Red Cross. So all the countries are helping Tajikistan to the best of their ability at present. I would like to ask, however, in order to complete the sowing campaign in the aftermath of the natural disaster, for more aid in terms of fuel and lubricants, foodstuffs, and construction materials.

[Semonov] The humanitarian aid that you are getting: How is it distributed and by whom? How is its distribution monitored?

[Rakhmanov] We have set up a commission here attached to the republic's Council of Ministers. We have a headquarters of the International Red Cross here. Comrade Ubaidullayev, one of the deputy chairmen of the republic's Council of Ministers, is specifically occupied with distributing the humanitarian aid.

[Skryabin] Thank you, Imamali Sharipovich. I have a few questions from viewers here. Basically, they are all about the same thing: your attitude as head of state toward religion and toward Islamic fundamentalism, in particular.

[Rakhmanov] You know, I want to state immediately that you must separate Islam from fundamentalism. The majority of the population living in the republic are Muslims, and this includes me. However, the idea of Islam advocates peace and friendship in relations between people. As far as fundamentalism is concerned, I would say that we have seen in our own bitter experience that militant fundamentalism can never be accepted by the people. It is not wanted by the population of the republic.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Lyuda, your question.

[Telen] I would also like to continue on the theme of religion. We do often use the term Islamic fundamentalism, and we will continue to use it frequently. Would you mind telling us in more detail exactly what you mean when you refer to this concept?

[Rakhmanov] Well, the fundamentalism has existed in Tajikistan, and I witnessed it with my own eyes. From the very beginning, when I was a member of parliament—a people's representative in the parliament—I fought against the actions of the republican spiritual board [kaziyat], from the very beginning of 1990. Without laws of any kind, (?pursuing their own idea), without submitting to any constitutional authority, they acted how they pleased with the representatives of the people, the people's deputies, the members of the government. In the provinces, they were not occupied with religion as they should have been. They were openly doing other things. Instead of carrying out religious activities, reading prayers and so on in the mosques, they were handing out punitive jobs in order to set up a punitive army. This is what was happening here. The republican kaziyat was a prison that was holding members of the government, and there were people's deputies who saw with their own eyes how the kaziyat members were subjecting them to torture. The prisons were in theaters, cinemas, and mosques in the capital. It was the same in the regions.

I will just give one example of what constitutes fundamentalism in Tajikistan—when the first deputy chairman of the Kulyab Oblast Executive Committee was in the government building with Jamshed [word indistinct] [Karimov], first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He came for bread when more than a million people of Kulyab Oblast found themselves within an economic zone, an economic blockade. They were both taken hostage directly from the hall, right from the office of the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. In the [word indistinct] mosque near Dushanbe, members of Comrade Sangov's movement burned first their heads and then their hearts with a lamp, mocked them, and barbarically killed them. They killed many members of the government and students from Kulyab Oblast and Leninabad Oblast, including the Russian-speaking population and military servicemen.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much, Imamali Sharipovich. So, very briefly, we have a couple of minutes left. Nonetheless, an issue on which there have been a lot of questions; that is, privatization and land reform. Very briefly, what could you say about this?

[Rakhmanov] Yes. It is true that we are pursuing the path of economic reform. First, this is what I would like to say about privatization in our republic. Indeed, we will pursue this path, but first we have to resurrect our economy destroyed by the war. This is not a very easy path. We will, as they say, work in stages in this direction.

As far as land reform is concerned, we have an agrarian republic. We will develop both private farming and peasant farming and those types of farming existing at the moment, and we will encourage them. Primarily, we will provide assistance to those private farm and peasant holdings, which will be encouraged in the development of the agrarian sector by preferential credits and comprehensive assistance on the part of the government.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Our time is up. I thank you, esteemed head of state. I thank the television viewers, who have spent 40 minutes together with us. Thank you and good-bye.

[Rakhmanov] Thank you.

Three Russian Soldiers Killed in Border Incident

LD3005110493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0950 GMT 30 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 30 May—At 1837 hours on 29 May, the 11th subunit of the Moscow border troops detachment on the Tajik-Afghan border was subjected to intensive heavy weapons and rifle fire from the territory of Afghanistan, the press office of the Russian Federation border troops reported today. After this, several groups of fighters attacked the post. After a four-hour battle, the attack was repulsed. As a result of a direct hit on a trench by a grenade, three border soldiers were killed and four were injured. Provisionally, it has been established that the attack was carried out by Afghan mojaheddin together with fighters from the Tajik opposition. Measures have been undertaken to reinforce the border post using reserves from the detachment and a special brigade from Tajikistan's National Security Committee.

The press office of the Russian border troops reports that the Tajik leadership and the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs and State Committee for Emergency Situations have been informed about the situation on this section of the border.

Foreign Ministry Sends Protest to Kabul

LD3005171993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1700 GMT 30 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe May 30 TASS—Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry sent today a note of protest to Afghanistan's government to express concern over the armed provocation that took place on the Tajik-Afghan border on May 29.

ITAR-TASS learned from the information department of Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry that according to Tajik special services armed groups of the opposition numbering up to 200 men tried to break into Tajikistan from Afghanistan. The invasion was covered by fire from heavy guns. The aggression has been repulsed by Russian frontier troops and pro-government units. There are casualties.

In this connection, Tajikistan's Foreign Ministry is authorised to declare that the Afghan side is wholly to blame for the incident, the note says. At same time, hope is expressed that Kabul will give a principled assessment to the attempts of definite Afghan forces to interfere in internal affairs of a sovereign state.

Uzbekistan

Nazarbayev Visits, Meets With Karimov

LD2805121193 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 2300 GMT 27 May 93

[Excerpt] On the afternoon of 26 May, President Nursultan Nazarbayev arrived in Tashkent from Almaty. He was met at the airport, which was decorated with the state flags of both republics, by Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov.

The heads of states visited the mausoleums of Tolebi and Shayakhan Shakur, which are located in the center of Tashkent. Those outstanding sons of the two nations, who lived 300 years ago, ae at the root of the friendship betweem the Kazakhs and the Uzbeks. It is symbolic that the current leaders of the two fraternal sovereign states paid tribute to them together.

Later, the presidents held a meeting during which they discussed the prospects for developing cooperation between the two neighboring states in the sphere of economics, spiritual life, and culture. This cooperation is especially desirable since the Kazakh and Uzbek people are connected by a centuries-old friendship and common traditions and customs.

Nursultan Nazarbayev invited Islam Karimov and his spouse to participate in the Days of Remembrance, dedicated to the three outstanding figures of Kazakh history: Tolebi, Kazbekbi, and Aytekebi. The invitation was received with gratitude. [passage omitted]

Kyrgyz President Leads Delegation to Tashkent

LD2805185993 Bishkek KYRGYZKABAR in Russian 1247 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Bishkek, 28 May—"We have come to Tashkent to put right a mistake," Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev stated at a press conference. A delegation from this republic arrived in Uzbekistan after the supply of natural gas to Kyrgyzstan was halted, stricter rules for the import and export of goods were introduced, and movement by road between the republics almost came to a stop after the introduction of Kyrgyzstan's national currency. Now these neighbors have started to rebuild their relations from scratch, so to speak. This is why the Kyrgyz delegation arrived in Uzbekistan.

Replying to a question from a correspondent of the Uzbekistan National Information Agency about whether or not the young state had taken into account the reaction of its nearest neighbors to such a secret and hasty transition to a new currency and also whether or not Kyrgyzstan had sufficient Western investment for this move, Askar Akayev was extremely frank. He expressed his regret that the Kyrgyz Government had not informed its neighbors of the schedule for the transition to its own currency, although this was stipulated in a bilateral agreement.

Regarding Western investment, A. Akayev said that judging by the experience of Russia, they would have to wait a long time for this.

"We took a serious risk in introducing the som," the Kyrgyzstan president emphasized. "The complex economic situation pushed us into adopting this resolution. We understand that we will have to face serious trials. This makes it all the more pleasant to recognize that Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov has proposed the best possible plan for withdrawing the ruble from circulation in our republic. The transition to our own currency should not have a negative effect on friendly, mutually beneficial relations between our countries. We arrived in Tashkent to put right a mistake and to sort out the disagreements that have arisen. We have succeeded in doing this."

Azerbaijan

U.S. Envoy, Elchibey View Prospects for Karabakh Settlement

NC0206085193 Baku AZERTAC in English 0721 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 2 Jun (AZERTAC)—Yesterday, on June the 1 John Maresca, the representative of the State Department of the USA on the negotiations regarding Nagorno-Karabakh, during his meeting with the Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey stressed that the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict might be and should be settled in the interests of the world community. John Maresca, who has come to the region to continue the consultations with the fighting parties in connection with the wrecking of the trilateral plan, that had been offered by Russia, Turkey and the USA, is sure that "the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan share his position."

According to the opinion of the American diplomat at this crucial moment, when the Armenian troops, regardless of the well-known resolution of the Security Council of the UN, continue to occupy the Kelbadzharskiy district of Azerbaijan, it is very important not to aggravate the situation, that "favours now to pave the way to peace." J. Maresca believes that all vexed questions could be solved at the bargaining table of the CSCE supported Minsk group, that is going to assemble in Rome on June the 3.

The meeting between J. Maresca and Abulfaz Elchibey was held behind closed doors. According to Vafa Gulizade, the state adviser on foreign policy of Azerbaijan, the mediatory efforts of Russia, Turkey and the USA received a high appraisal on this meeting. V. Gulizade also said that the interlocutors expressed the consent to continue to look for the mutually beneficial ways to settle the conflict. In particular, they agreed that it is necessary to correct the plan of the withdrawal of the Armenian troops from the Kelbadzharskiy district. They pointed out that the liberation of this Azerbaijani district is the most important condition to renew the negotiations between the interested parties. The Azerbaijani party was informed about the meeting between J. Maresca and the president of Armenia Levon Ter-Petrosyan, that took place in Yerevan two days ago.

Shevardnadze Message Calls For Cooperation in Caucasus

NC0106090293 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the State Council of Georgia, has conveyed a telegram to President Abulfaz Elchibey. It says:

Esteemed President, please accept my gratitude for the congratulatory message you conveyed to me on the occasion of Georgia's anniversary. Meanwhile, please allow me to wholeheartedly congratulate you and all the people of Azerbaijan on the anniversary of Azerbaijan's National Day.

I have assessed your [word indistinct] on establishing a cease-fire on the occasion of the three republics' anniversaries in the Transcaucasus. Our common histories must encourage us to remove the negative [word indistinct] and establish fruitful cooperation in the Transcaucasus for a better future for our people.

Economic Agreement Signed With Georgia

NC0106133193 Baku TURAN in English 0836 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 1 Jun (TURAN)—As the "AZERBAIJAN" newspaper informed, the talks between Deputy Ministers of Azerbaijan Abbas Abbasov and Georgia Zurab Kervalishvili in Tbilisi ended with signing bilateral agreement.

According to the document, Azerbaijan will deliver to Georgia oil products, and Georgia in its turn will deliver ammonia.

Abbas Abbasov have met with Eduard Shevardnadze and Tengiz Sigua too. In the course of the discussion, the problems of trade-economic relations and of the construction of the "[word indistinct] Europe" trans-main line, that would connect two republics, were discussed.

Last fall Azerbaijan and Georgia signed the treaty on "friendship, cooperation and mutual security." At the same time, Azerbaijan gave to Georgia in credit 15 billion rubles.

Georgia hopes to receive Iran gas through Azerbaijan territory and suggest that the pipe-line, that will take out Azerbaijan oil to the Mediterranean coast of Turkey, should be built.

Armenia Blamed for Failed Peace Initiative

MK2905090093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 May 93 p 3

[Aydyn Mekhtiyev report: "Baku Accuses Armenia of Thwarting Peace Initiative. Meanwhile, Bill Clinton Calls the Continuation of Hostilities in Nagorno-Karabakh Intolerable"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent asked Araz Azimov, chief of the International Organizations Administration of the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry, to comment on the situation that emerged after the peace plan proposed by the United States, Russia, and Turkey had been foiled. He emphasized that the approval of the tripartite peace plan by Azerbaijan and Stepanakert's refusal to accept it have given Azerbaijan's international standing an even stronger boost and compounded Armenia's isolation. The main argument of Karabakh field commanders against the peace plan is that the document allegedly does not provide security guarantees to the Armenian population after Armenia's withdrawal from Kelbadzhar. "It is evident, however, that by rejecting the peace plan proposed by the mediators, the Armenian side has automatically spurned UN Security Council Resolution No. 822, which includes the requirement that the troops be withdrawn "from Kelbadzhar and other recently occupies areas of Azerbaijan," Araz Azimov said. According to Azimov, the formula set forth in Resolution No. 822 includes the requirement for the withdrawal of the Armenian troops not only from Kelbadzhar. The thing is that as a result of a recent attack the Armenian troops also seized around 60 percent of Lachin Rayon. "The refusal by the Armenian side to accept the peace plan forces Azerbaijan to consider making an appeal to the UN Security Council to take measures to enforce Resolution No. 822," Araz Azimov concluded. [passage omitted]

'Grey Wolves' Party Warns Russia Over Soldiers

LD2805151893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The POSTFAKTUM agency has received a statement from the Azerbaijani worldwide party The Grey Wolves. I quote:

If Russia continues to pressure the Azerbaijani Government in order to get the sentence passed on the six Russian servicemen quashed, the Grey Wolves party will adopt all necessary measures on the territory of Russia to put an end to that pressure.

It goes on: The Grey Wolves party calls for the rapid implementation of the sentence. Any other outcome, the statement stresses, will be an outrage upon the honor and dignity of Azerbaijanis.

A necessary piece of information: The headquarters of the worldwide Turkic party The Grey Wolves is in Turkey. The party is known for the fact that one of its members, the Turkish terrorist Ali Agca, once carried out an attempt on the life of the pope.

Results of Prime Minister's Visit to UK Reported

NC0106143393 Baku TURAN in English 0933 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, June 1 (TURAN)—At today's press-conference in the ministers cabinet the Prime-Minister of Azerbaijan Panakh Guseynov said, that the visit to Great Britain went off at the very high level. During his visit the meetings with the Minister of Economy and Trade Michael Heseltine and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Douglas Hurd, and also the meetings at the British Parliament took place. P. Guseynov also had an hour-long conversation with the former Prime-Minister Margaret Thatcher.

P. Guseynov pointed out, that the British side shows a great interest toward Azerbaijan. According to his words, Great Britain is the second economic partner of Azerbaijan after Iran, at present. In the near future, the increase of the volume of the trade-economic links with Great Britain 2 or 3 times is expected. The main spheres of the cooperation will be the fuel-power economy and agriculture. P. Guseynov didn't exclude the possibility of Britain becoming the main economic partner of Azerbaijan in the nearest time. In fact, according to his words, the contract on the exploitation of one of the biggest Caspian oil field at Chirag shelf is to be signed with the British-Norway alliance BP-Statoil in the nearest future.

During the visit the documents on the cooperation in the fields of the energetics, telecommunication and communication, insurance and finance were signed. P. Guseynov pointed out, that during his one-day visit to Switzerland the negotiations with the representatives of French State Bank and German "Deutsche Bank" were held. To [as received] premiers words, during these negotiations the problems of granting credits to Azerbaijan were discussed.

P. Guseynov qualified the results of his visit to Britain as the important stage on the way of adjusting the links with Europe. As he said, the visit of Azeri governmental delegation to Germany, Austria and France is planned to the next month. At present, the premier pointed out, the official delegations visit to the USA and China is being discussed.

According to premiers words, the political problems took up the main part of the negotiations. In fact, the British side gave a high value to a peaceloving position and spoke on the support of the peacemamaking process in the framework of CSCE.

P. Guseynov noticed, that the intensification of the comprehensive, and firstly economic links with [words indistinct] of Azerbaijan.

Britain Guarantees Objective Data on Karabakh Conflict

LD3105165993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1511 GMT 31 May 93

[By AZERTAC correspondents Elchin Sardarov and Viktor Shulman for TASS]

[Text] Baku May 31 TASS—Great Britain is prepared to act as a guarantor for spreading objective information on the Armenian-Azeri conflict, Harold Elletson, head of a British parliamentary delegation, said at a meeting with chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, Isa Kamberov. The head of the British delegation also confirmed the position of his country which had signed the U.N. Security Council resolution aimed at settling this conflict.

The two sides expressed the hope that interparliamentary ties and relations between Great Britain and Azerbaijan would develop and strengthen. During the visit of British members of parliament who include representatives of both the Conservative and Labour Parties, it is planned to consider questions connected with the prospects for cooperation of British companies with Azerbaijan. The guests are expected to visit the British petroleum office which was earlier opened in Baku in connection with studying a joint project for developing one of the prospective oil deposits.

Trade Agreements Reached With Dagestan Delegation

NC0106141293 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0719 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Baku, 31.05.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Government delegation of Republic Dagestan in Baku leaded by First Vice-Chairman of Council of Ministers Dagestan Nabiyulla Magomedov the delegation arrived in Baku today on May 31, ASSA-IRADA was told at the Cabinet of Ministers of Azerbaijan. Today the treaties on trade-economic, scientific-technical and cultural between two countries for 1993. [sentence as received] It envisages the creation of favorable conditions for the market relationship between Azerbaijan and Dagestan ensuring of mutual deliveries of most important kinds of raw materials and production. Moreover the separate treaties on all kinds of transport are signed according to which the both sides will oblige to provide the conditions for unimpeded throughfare [as received] of transport means transportation and safety of goods and also for the pumping of gas through transporting communications located in the territory of both republics. The control order of transit goods and preferential duties system have been determined.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Satisfied With Kazakhstan Visit

LD0206115893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Last night we spoke on the telephone to Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state. Eduard Shevardnadze expressed deep satisfaction with his visit to Kazakhstan. He noted that the visit passed in an atmosphere of friendliness and mutual understanding. Today, we signed 23 documents, including a comprehensive agreement on the principles of cooperation and friendship between the two countries, the head of state said.

Also signed was an agreement on cooperation between the Georgian Parliament and the Supreme Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as a number of other documents in the spheres of trade and economy, sports, culture, automobile and railway transport, customs, tourism, agriculture, the food industry and others. Within the next two weeks the two countries will exchange ambassadors.

Relations and cooperation with Kazakhstan are just beginning, Eduard Shevardnadze said in conclusion. We have the impression that Kazakhstan is a country of enormous possibilities.

New Defense Minister Views Current Problems

AU0206082993 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 27 May 93 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Major General Giorgiy Karkarashvili by Eka Akhalkatsi in Tbilisi on 25 May; under rubric "Specially for SG": "Giya Karkarashvili: 'From Soldier to Minister'"]

[Text] On 6 May, the Georgian parliament confirmed Major General Giorgiy Karkarashvili as minister of defense. According to the results of an opinion poll conducted by the sociological service of REZONANSI, 64 percent of Tbilisians viewed him as the best candidate for this high post. It was the view of 8.7 percent that, while agreeing that a change of minister was imperative, Giya was not the best candidate. Of those polled, 17.7 percent had difficulty in assessing him. Time will tell who was right and who was wrong. In any case, journalists were left satisfied following their meeting with the new minister that took place on 25 May, on the eve of the parade of troops in Tbilisi....

G. Karkarashvili on himself:

[Karkarashvili] I was born on 31 December 1966. I graduated from the 2d Tbilisi secondary school. Are you interested in my grades? In 1987, after completing my studies at the Tbilisi Artillery Command School, I was posted to Schwerin in Germany where I served for three years. I then served in Akhaltsikhe in Azerbaijan. I have held all posts in the Georgian Army from soldier to minister.

G. Karkarashvili on the war in Abkhazia:

[Karkarashvili] During the course of the armed conflict, the Georgian side has lost 1,300-1,500 men and the Abkhazian side 1,500- 1,700. I am giving approximate figures because the precise number of casualties in Gagra and Leselidze is not known. In the main, these were young people, including the peaceful population.

Don't the Abkhaz realize that supporting the separatists and reactionaries means leading their nation to complete physical destruction? Ardzinba [head of the Gudauta-based government] himself doesn't care about this: He'll get on board a plane and fly to Moscow where a five-room apartment and material well-being await him. He is not bothered by the innumerable number of casualties, while the Abkhaz are blinded by illusions and do not want to face the truth.

Just during the last month, in spite of the absence of active combat actions, 90 persons have been killed and 200 wounded on the Georgian side and there have been 106 killed and 270 wounded on the Abkhazian side.

There can be no victor in this war. This deadly conflict only suits a third force that is supplying weapons to both sides; it suits them.

[Akhalkatsi] Do you believe that the shooting will stop following the agreement reached at the summit in Moscow?

[Karkarashvili] As a minister, I do not have the right not to support the policy of the head of state. We are observing the points in the communique. After the agreement reached on 3 September [1992], we also quickly observed a cease-fire and... lost our border. However, we have now become more experienced and cautious. What fills one with hope is the fact that, the other day, Georgian and Abkhazian fighters met like brothers at the Gumista River. Therefore, provided there are no provocations from a third force, I believe everything will be fine.

[Akhalkatsi] What about the shooting near Tamysh...?

[Karkarashvili] Yes, Georgian positions were fired upon on Sunday night. This was provocation. Unfortunately, fighters in our subunit near Tamysh became somewhat less vigilant. One must not be trusting....

[Akhalkatsi] When will negotiations be continued?

[Karkarashvili] The day after tomorrow in Moscow and then they will continue in Tbilisi. The Georgian side will be represented by Lieutenant General Sharashenidze and the Russian side by Colonel General Galkin.

[Akhalkatsi] Will negotiations be conducted with the Abkhaz?

[Karkarashvili] According to Grachev, the Russian authorities have unlimited influence upon the Abkhaz. Regarding the Georgians and Abkhaz, we have got along for 20 centuries without conflict and this is how it should be in the future. The most important thing is that Russia should not interfere.

I have halted the war. It is Ardzinba who is continuing it....

[Akhalkatsi] Do you believe that Russia will fulfill the role of mediator?

[Karkarashvili] If it does not, we will be forced to turn to other countries and the Georgian defense minister will fulfill the order of the head of state in order to protect Georgia's territorial integrity.

[Akhalkatsi] Do you think that UN troops will be brought in?

[Karkarashvili] This is a question for the head of state and not for me. I only carry out his orders.

[Akhalkatsi] Do you think it is possible to resolve this conflict by military means?

[Karkarashvili] This variant does not exist. After all, Georgian citizens are fighting on both sides.

[Akhalkatsi] How will the withdrawal of Russian troops be implemented and do you agree with the stipulated time period—the end of 1995?

[Karkarashvili] There are practically none in Tbilisi. They will be withdrawn from Kutaisi by 1 July. However, they are standing firm in the "explosive" places: in Tskhinvali, Abkhazia, Akhalkalaki, Adzharia. In those places where they are counting on the effectiveness of their provocative actions. So, what sense is there in keeping them here until 1995? If they were to be helpful or useful in some way, then, as far as I'm concerned, they could be kept here until 2000....

However, we will not permit any provocations. Only yesterday, I handed a letter to the command of the CIS troops. We had information that the Armenian population was planning to attack the 147th Division located in Akhalkalaki. A provocation could have taken place there; it was just a matter of weapons falling into the hands of local inhabitants. I stated in this letter that, if this were to happen, all responsibility would rest with the Russian troops.

Grachev surprises me. He states that he will not withdraw troops from the "explosive" regions as he has strategic interests there. Yet, at the same time, he recognizes the territorial integrity of Georgia—in words. How can one reconcile these two statements?

[Akhalkatsi] What kind of army would you like to create?

[Karkarashvili] One like that in Israel but I view the Russian Army as the model as far as strength and discipline are concerned.

[Akhalkatsi] What do you see as the main problem on the path toward creating a single Georgian army?

[Karkarashvili] Specialists. We have virtually none. However, the situation will improve by September: Some 600 military specialists who are being trained in different cities in the CIS will be returning to Georgia.

[Akhalkatsi] Why do you think it became necessary to replace Kitovani [former defense minister]?

[Karkarashvili] I don't know. Perhaps it would have been better if he had remained in the post.

He is more experienced and I sometimes find it difficult to resolve one problem or another.

However, the head of state knows better. Perhaps he decided that a new broom would be more effective....

[Akhalkatsi] It was said that, the other day, you were carousing with Kitovani.

[Karkarashvili] Why carousing? We were dining together.

"I have seen a great deal of blood and sometimes I cannot call for it to be spilt. I am convinced that this can be done only by those who have not come face to face with death...." [Giya Karkarishvili]

Estonia

President Meri on Economy, Russian Ties

PM2805132193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 93 First Edition p 5

[Interview with President Lennart Meri by Sergey Chugayev in Tallinn "a few days ago": "'We Proposed not Running Away From Rain but Running Through It,' Lennart Meri, President of Estonian Republic, Explains Successes of His Government's Policy"—first five paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] It would probably be no exaggeration to maintain that, of all the former republics of the USSR, Estonia is today the undisputed leader in the matter of implementing economic reforms. In less than a year the country has succeeded in surmounting hyperinflation, achieving a positive trade balance, and eliminating the budget deficit.

In many respects these achievements are founded on the tough credit policy which the government of Mart Laar is implementing in respect of the state sector of the economy, as well as on the successful introduction of its own convertible national currency—the kroon. Today the level of inflation in Estonia is stable and stands at 3 percent a month. Tallinn's stores are full of European-class goods, whose prices are below average European prices. This circumstance has resulted in many Scandinavian tour operators organizing shopping trips to Estonia.

Sociological research data show that the restoration of independence and the successful start to the implementation of economic reforms have also influenced the state of interethnic relations in the republic. Today the majority of Russians and Estonians believe that good or normal relations exist between them. Two years ago the results of polls showed the direct opposite. Such changes can be accounted for by the fact, for example, that living standards in Estonia today are more than three times higher than in Moscow.

Of course, not everything in this Baltic republic is so cloudless. Despite all the outwardly successful indicators of economic activity as a whole, the slump in industry, particularly in the state sector, and in agriculture is continuing. The problem of obtaining citizenship is quite acute for the nonindigenous population, and the talks on the Russian troop withdrawal and on resolving the territorial dispute with Russia are proceeding with difficulty.

President Lennart Meri of the Estonian Republic told a group of Russian journalists how the Estonian leadership sees these problems during a meeting which was held in Tallinn a few days ago.

[Chugayev] Mr. President! What do you see as the reason for the success of the economic reforms in Estonia, and what is the essence of the present government's political program?

[Meri] If we are to speak of the political program, then the importance of the program that was closest of all to my heart resided in the fact that my associates, my colleagues, and I realized the significance of the time factor maybe earlier than others. It is a concept that is hard to define. Not only Estonia and the former USSR, not only Europe, but also the whole world are now at the stage of making a very dynamic search for new roles. This can be a dangerous process, as we see in the example of the former Yugoslavia. But such a dynamic period of searching for self-determination cannot be endless. It must be gone through boldly, decisively, and quickly. Because it is bound to signify both the development of new economic ties in society and the breaking of old ones. Such a process is always painful. If we are faced with a painful process, it is better, as an Estonian proverb says, not to slice the tail off piece by piece but to cut it off with a single stroke.

I believe that it was precisely the fact that we did not hide the complex and painful nature of the processes awaiting us and proposed not running away from the rain but running through it, that it was precisely this openness that gave the upper hand to those political forces which nominated me for the post of president. I will add here, however, that I have stood outside political parties ever since the moment I took the oath of allegiance to the Estonian Constitution.

[Chugayev] When you "ran into the rain," to use your words, where did it seem heaviest to you—in the economic sphere or the sphere of state building?

[Meri] You know, at such times it is risky to separate one from the other. But I am accustomed to thinking in economic terms, since they concern every inhabitant of Estonia. I believe that privatization is precisely the process that brings about most rapid changes in thinking. I do not rule out the possibility that in the future the slogan "person-cog"—typical of the epoch of totalitarianism—will be recognized by historians not only as a most cruel slogan but also as a most fatal mistake by the totalitarian regime, which consequently led to the self-destruction of the totalitarian state. The ban on free creativity meant a ban on the reproduction of society.

[Chugayev] As is known, the process of the restoration of independence by the Baltic countries began in Lithuania. But the recent presidential election in that republic was won by the former first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee. Why did this happen, in your view, and how strong are the positions of left-wing forces in Estonia today?

[Meri] I believe that one of the fundamental differences between Lithuania and Estonia was the one that existed, let us say, between Poland and the former GDR. For Poland never was a single-party state. There was always a second party there—the Catholic Church. It seems to me that the Catholic Church played no less a role in Lithuania, if not a greater one, than in Poland. It was never estimated at its true worth, but this role was great. The influence of the Catholic Church began to tell in Lithuania as early as 1953, when outwardly imperceptible but very important changes occurred in the republic in the then communist leadership itself. It was precisely in Lithuania, and not in Estonia or Latvia, that leaders were in power who were undoubtedly communist but who placed the interests of their republic in the forefront. Maybe you know that back at the time of Khrushchev's "thaw" serious conflicts arose in connection with the way orders issued in Moscow were being carried out in Lithuania. I believe that the answer to your question should be sought precisely in that past.

I can go further and say that before World War II the differences between Lithuania and Estonia were considerably more profound. For the reason, above all, that a democratic land reform had been carried out in Estonia in the early twenties. That reform called forth critical fire upon the then Estonian Government, which the League of Nations held liable for violating the rights of an ethnic minority. At the time this was a German-speaking minority, whose representatives owned large plots of land. But since that reform was implemented on a democratic basis—compensation was offered to those who were forced to part with land—in the end Estonia received the right to implement that reform, as a result of which a very strong and very stable class of middling owners was formed in society.

[Chugayev] Of course, we are all interested in the problems that exist in relations between Estonia and Russia, in the position of the republic's Russian-speaking population....

[Meri] I believe the 10th round of Russian-Estonian talks has already ended. At the beginning of February I had the honor to attend their first round. We were full of optimism then and were reckoning on resolving as quickly as possible the problem of the withdrawal of the Russian troops remaining on Estonian territory and thereby putting an end to the last consequence of World War II. I regard as deplorable the fact that one year and two months on from then we are still holding talks, but it should not provide food for pessimistic conclusions. When it comes right down to it, we must be above such categories as "who outdid whom in the talks." I am convinced that the Russian troop withdrawal accords with both Estonian and Russian national interests.

This confidence derives from the geopolitical situation. Estonia was created by nature itself to serve as a bridge between West and East Europe, between the West and Russia.

As regards the Russian-speaking population, not so long ago I visited Narva, Sillamae, and Kohtla-Jarve and, you know, I saw for myself that we do not have ethnic problems. We have political problems, which to a certain degree are a consequence of unresolved interstate problems. But the vast majority of the Russian-speaking population is prepared to work loyally in Estonia. I felt this particularly in Narva, where there have been so many rumors in various publications about the situation there. Far from always do they tally with reality, however.

In Narva I saw many economic problems which really need to be resolved and are literally clamoring for attention. Because we frequently deal with defense industry enterprises. They are, as a rule, well-equipped plants, and the intellectual potential of their working people is very high. These people are now out of work.

This is not an interethnic problem, however, but a very complex economic one. We very much want to help such plants to find a place in the new world which is opening up for them for the first time. It is even opening up symbolically, because the plants were "closed" or secret. Today they stand on the threshold of two openings: first, that of their own gates and, second, that of the extensive horizons provided by the free market.

While in those plants, I saw that people there are proud of what they produce. It is really first-class output. At the same time there is complete ignorance of the laws of the market. Of course, this is understandable. I believe that the Estonian Government must be far more active in helping these plants to find the economic niche where they can apply their high intellectual potential. As a former writer forced to publish under the vigilant eye of the censor, I well understand anyone who is able to do something and who has suddenly been placed in a position in which he is unable to display his talent.

[Chugayev] Obviously, you know that there are many parties, movements, and factions in Russia, including in the Russian parliament, which make active use, for their own political ends, of the problem of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic countries and the problem of the Russian troops' presence in the region. How well protected against these forces do you feel, and are you concerned about the presence of Russian troops in Estonia?

[Meri] I know that there are factions in the Russian parliament which advocate the restoration of all the former privileges. A feudal way of thinking is simply concealed behind these slogans. The same stratification is also to be observed in the army. This is confirmed precisely by the not very numerous meetings that I have had with leading Russian officers. There are officers for whom the very thought of serving a democratic Russia is offensive. These officers pose a danger to Russia itself, above all. At the same time I have had and, I hope, will have the pleasure of meeting with highly educated Russian officers who received their education through Pushkin and Lermontov. They understand what a European officer at the end of our century is like and are completely free of a feudal way of thinking.

[Chugayev] And yet, do you feel safe?

[Meri] The presence of the former Soviet Union's armed forces in the Baltic states is the main destabilizing factor in the north of Europe. This opinion is common to the countries of the region.

[Chugayev] Are you reckoning on anyone's military assistance if a threat to Estonia's independence should arise?

[Meri] A state's strength and the strength of its defenses lie in its prestige, not in tanks. Of course, any political problem can be resolved by military means. But in that case Russia will alienate itself from both Europe and Asia for the fateful period. What will be left? The Arctic Ocean?

The world is big enough for both large states and small ones. The times when being a big state meant being mighty have long gone in Europe. Denmark, the Netherlands, and Liechtenstein do not ask themselves how great their defense capability is. Their citizens are happy and proud of their states and lead the same life as their neighbors. This is the European Community, mighty in its diversity.

Latvia

Lawmakers Call Interstate Accord With Russia 'Hostile'

WS0206110893 Tallinn BNS in English 1149 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Riga, June 02, BNS—Latvian lawmakers ruled Tuesday to qualify a Latvian-Russian interstate agreement of May 21 on operating defense factories located on the Latvian soil as hostile to the Latvian national interests.

The agreement was signed in the name of the governments by Minister of State, chief Latvian negotiator Janis Dinevics and Ambassador at Large, chief Russian negotiator Sergey Zotov.

The accord provided to transform seven Russian defense factories in Riga, Leipaja and Plavinas into joint-stock companies, companies with limited responsibility or share companies in two months provided that Russia receives no more than 49 percent in shares and Latvia—no less than 51 percent in shares.

Dinevics arrived from the Moscow talks to participate in the parliament's plenary meeting today. He says the agreement could by no means be regarded as a state treason since in any case the planned distribution of the share capital allows Latvia to manage the situation.

The agreement also ought to be assessed positively because the intended joint ventures would have provided jobs for many people and contributed to the state budget in the form of taxes.

Dinevics reiterated that formation of Latvian-Russina joint ventures was the sole possibility to prevent plunder and destruction of former Russian military installations.

However, he was opposed by MP Aleksandrs Kirsteins who said the agreement blatantly contradicted the Latvian national interests, especially reckoning with Russia's intentions to use the defense factories for repair and production of weaponry to be imported to third countries. Such activities might harm Latvia's international prestige, Kirsteins said.

MP Einars Cilinskis pointed out that the majority of workers employed in the mentioned factories were not citizens of the Republic of Latvia but guest workers that rather ought to be repatriated than preserved in Latvia.

MP Andrejs Pntelejevs said in fact the parliament itself was to blame for the erroneous resolution. Latvia ought to have demanded dismantling and repatriating of the defense factories together with their personnel already earlier. However, the parliament had ruled then to take over the facilities to the Latvian jurisdiction.

Parliament's Chair Anatolijs Gorbunovs advised to revise the text of the agreement in compliance with the existing legislation but his proposal was rejected by the majority.

Also, deputies voted down proposals of deputies in the parliamentary Satversme faction to nullify authorities of the delegation led by Janis Dinevics.

Dinevics expressed his regret over the cancellation of the agreement and said he could not give any prognosis whether the resolution would not affect the course of the talks in Moscow. As reported, the delegations are scheduled to sign several pacts there.

Ministry Urges Russia's 'Prompt' Ratification of Pacts

WS0206122293 Tallinn BNS in English 1910 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 28, BNS—The Latvian Foreign Ministry directed a note to the Russian embassy in Riga to ask a prompt ratification of 1993 Latvian-Russian interstate economic and trade pacts at the Russian parliament.

The lack of appropriate international documents has led to the present situation when the trade between Latvia and Russia in fact has no legal framework.

The Latvian Foreign Ministry stresses that these documents are of top importance and should not be delayed any longer.

The note was provoked by repeated and vain attempts to encourage processing of the documents at the Russian parliament.

Official Condemns Canceling Treaty With Russia

LD0206090393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0812 GMT 2 Jun 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga June 2 TASS—A Latvian negotiator at talks with Russia condemned the denounciation by the republican parliament of an agreement with Russia saying his country has "disgraced itself" and accusing lawmakers of attempts to win over votes before upcoming elections.

Mikhail Stepichev said on local radio on Wednesday that the parliament had violated international norms regulating such a move. Latvia denounced on Tuesday an interstate agreement signed with Russia during a previous round of talks in Jurmala and providing for joint use of former Soviet defence enterprises on the Latvian territory and the creation of joint ventures on their base.

Stepichev qualified the decision as "political cannibalism" and warned that Russia will fire back by disrupting bilateral talks and delaying the withdrawal of its troops.

"Russia has a reason to suspend the talks completely. Now there will be no withdrawal of troops in 1994", he said.

On Wednesday a regular meeting of Russian and Latvian delegations is taking place in Moscow. A number of bilateral agreements was expected to be signed.

Satversme Faction Seeks To Annul Defense Accord With Russia

WS0106145293 Tallinn BNS in English 0755 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Riga, May 31, BNS—The Latvian parliamentary Satversme faction will propose to declare null and void a Latvian-Russian interstate agreement on the use of Russian defense factories on the Latvian soil, signed May 21.

Deputies in the Satversme faction regard the document as not corresponding to the Latvian national interests.

Also, the faction is about to demand resignation of the present Latvian delegation for talks with Russia, headed by State Minister Janis Dinevics, as of June 1.

The decision was made after they had casually got acquainted with the text of the interstate agreement.

The agreement provides that Latvia and Russia jointly operates the enterprises presently under the authority of Russian defense forces - the aviation repair works in Riga, the experimental mechanical optics works and several other military plants in Riga, Liepaja and Plavinas.

All the above enterprises are to be transformed into joint-stock companies, companies with limited responsibility and others, provided that the Russian share does not exceed 49 percent and the Latvian share is no smaller than 51 percent.

In addition, Latvia should guarantee that Russian property rights are granted equal legal protection with Latvian ones.

The document also excludes possibilities that the property is confiscated, nationalized or requisitioned.

The transformation should be implemented in two months from the moment of signature, the agreement says.

The most scandalous is the sixth paragraph, stating that enterprises under transformation are extended Latvian licenses for production or repair of Russian or third countries' military equipment, deputies said.

The paragraph provides Russia with a possibility to produce weapons in Latvia to sell them abroad, thus Latvia gets involved with supporting the international terrorism, said MP Maris Budovskis.

The accord bears signatures of State Minister Janis Dinevics and Russian Chief negotiator Sergey Zotov.

Delegation member Indulis Emsis says he cannot remember that he has seen the document earlier. He says it was not discussed at Latvia delegations' meetings at the state minister.

"Government officials rush to sign top important economic documents," said Emsis. "At the same time they are slow to tackle the priority problem - the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the Latvian territory."

So far, deputies do not know whether the government is informed about the content of the document. However, it should have been considered at a government session, as Dinevics signed the papers in the name of the government.

Foreign Ministry Protests Russian Airspace 'Violations'

WS0206121993 Tallinn BNS in English 1910 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 28, BNS—The Latvian Foreign Ministry submitted a note of protest to the Russian Embassy in Latvia May 27, stating that Russian military airplanes consistently violate the Latvian airspace.

The Latvian Foreign Ministry expressed its concern over the North-West Army Group's illegal activities on the Latvian soil and labeled the unlawful acts as subversive to the Latvian sovereignty.

Within the period from January 1, 1993 to May 26, Latvian authorities have recorded 314 cases of Latvian airspace violations performed by Russian military airplanes, reads the note of protest.

Moreover, the Russian Federation Air Force Command is repeatedly ignoring regulations set in the Latvian government resolution on Russian troops movements in the territory of Latvia, says the document.

Russian Chief Warns Troops May Be Armed To Prevent 'Provocations'

LD2905125593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] Leonid Mayorov, the commander in chief of the Northwestern Military Group of Forces of the Russian Army, has sent Latvian Supreme Council Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs a letter. It contains a warning that Russian military personnel stationed in Latvia may be given an order to carry weapons with them in moving around on Latvian territory. This warning is said to have beem made as a result of repeated provocations against Russian military personnel made by the Latvian Home Guard. Gorbunovs has sent the letter on for consideration to Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis, Minister of State Janis Dinevics, and Girts Kristovskis, the chief of staff of the Home Guard.

'Last Column' of Russian Border Guards To Leave Ventspils

WS2805142193 Tallinn BNS in English 1044 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 28, BNS—The Head of the State Service Ventspils District Department Imants Kurts told BNS that the last column of Russian border guards will leave the Ventspils district in the first half of June. All cites of the unit have already been turned over to a Latvian border guard brigade.

After that eight Russian military units will remain in the district, says Imants Kurts.

Naval Chief Meets With Russian Baltic Fleet Commander

WS2805132893 Tallinn BNS in English 1050 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Riga, May 27, BNS—Latvian Navy Commander Gaidis Zeibots and officers from the Navy Department and the bureau for control of Russian troops withdrawal meet with Russian Baltic Fleet Commander Vladimir Yegorov in Liepaja on May 26 to discuss entering Latvia's territorial waters by Russian vessels.

As the bureau's head, Ilgonis Upmalis, told BNS, the meeting is expected to focus on social problems of the Russian officers made redundant and finalizing the schedule of the withdrawal handed over by Yegorov to Latvian authorities in early April.

The last question follows the statement by the Russian delegation at negotiations with Latvia in Jurmala that Russia would be ready to withdraw from the Liepaja naval port only in the end of 1998. However, the schedule given by Yegorov to Latvia, indicated the end of 1994.

Lithuania

Trade, Industry Minister Interviewed on Policies

WS3105131593 Vilnius POZICIJA in Lithuanian 6-12 May 93 No. 18 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Albertas Sinevicius, minister of industry and trade, by correspondent Tadas Vytaras; place and date not given: "Mercury, Have Mercy on Us! Minister Hopes: We Will Not Sink Lower This Year, But Climb Up the Hill"]

[Text] [Vytaras] Dear minister, the price hikes are descending on us like some epidemic or natural disaster. Let us take the last rise in meat prices. It was like hail before Easter. Even the president himself tried to explain that he had not known about it. Was he really not informed?

[Sinevicius] Nor was I. I was on a visit to Riga in early April. On my return home, I was informed that prices would increase the following day.

[Vytaras] The director of the Vilnius meat processing factory was made a scapegoat. This is ridiculous. If he was guilty, the previous prices should have been restored. The prime minister of the first independent Lithuanian government had to resign because of a price hike, while the head of the sixth government.... It was like water off a duck's back, although only the ministers may have seen a real duck on the Easter table.

Mr. Minister, were you really unaware of this?

The new prices are a true killer. Will we be hit again by price fever?

[Sinevicius] This is a price shock! Both of us are buyers. Both you and I notice that the state's intervention in the setting of prices has diminished. Prices are rising. At the same time, people's wages are being indexed according to projections.

Speaking about the last price hike, we have begun to analyze it and look for the reasons. Everything began with the considerable increase in meat purchasing prices. We have to pay double price for certain meat products to agrarian companies and farmers. I have already said this, and will repeat again: There was no need to increase them so much. True, prices in other Baltic states are much higher. For example, in Lithuania one can buy two liters of milk for one liter of fuel. The situation in Latvia is the reverse: the price of one liter of milk and of two liters of diesel fuel is the same.

[Vytaras] Our neighbors in Estonia and Latvia live better. Their production and consumption have not dropped so much. Here are a few data of the Lithuanian Statistics Department that were presented to the president himself. For example, in December 1992, a person with average wages in Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and Belarus could buy 42, 75, 86, and 106 kg of beef, respectively. Mr. Sinevicius, how do you see our life within the context of other Baltic states?

[Sinevicius] The economic reform of our neighbors did not devastate agriculture so severely. New methods are being introduced with more consistency and smoothness there. I would say that our neighbors are developing. They are not resorting to force to destroy unacceptable forms of economic activity. Their cattle farms have not emptied, and their food industries have not sunk so low. We must think about changing our economic reform.

On the other hand, our situation with respect to the U.S. dollar is different. Let us calculate. The average earnings of our people are 3,500 talonai a month. I am speaking both of those who work and those who do not. Suppose that one U.S. dollar equals 500 talonai. A package of "Marlboro" cigarettes costs $3.50 on the world market. Can a person live one month for two packages of cigarettes?! Everything seems dirt cheap for foreigners. However, our people cannot afford many things.

[Vytaras] Here are a few more figures. In March, the Statistics Department informed the president that the average wages in Lithuania were $28. It was the same in Belarus, while in Latvia and Estonia in was $62 and $68, respectively.

[Sinevicius] This means that the talonas exchange rate against the dollar is skewed. We should blame our ineffective monetary policy. This is one of the reasons why I resigned from office in the first government. We have caught chronic inflation. This sickness has affected industry and trade. We see its consequences in the falling value of the talonas.

Latvia's financial policy is completely different. One U.S. dollar equals 62 centimes. No matter how we denounce our talonas, it is our own monetary unit, despite its temporary character. What have we done with it? Any convertible currency—dollars, marks, francs—is circulating successfully in Lithuania, while Estonia has only its national currency! Some may not like this, but I will be straightforward. Our nasty economy is the premature baby of our bankers and financiers. In my opinion, there are no miracles in economy and finance.

[Vytaras] What do you think about life in neighboring Belarus? The former Lithuanian SSR and Belarusian SSR were once competitors. We used to mock the gudai [derogatory name for Belarusians in Lithuania] silently. On our non-working days we even shut our meat stores against them. And now? We buy their flitch at the Kalvarija and Hale bazaars. We travel to shop in Lida, Grodno, or Minsk. Where does this metamorphosis come from?

[Sinevicius] Prices in Belarus have also soared several times this year. Hardship accompanies everyone on his way to the free market. We have already covered the greater part of this road. Belarusians still have all "pleasures" before them.

[Vytaras] Thus far, we have been buying food from them.

[Sinevicius] Everything has been thus far. Everything is relative. I am a realist. Energy resources, metal, and raw materials are becoming more expensive. At the same time, all prices are going up. I do not want the Russian or any other government to think that it regulates and rules everything. This is untrue. Everything is regulated by the emerging free market structures that buy and sell. Everything is interrelated. For example, something happens somewhere—not to speak of the oil battle. Let me give you a small example. The assembly lines for the production of engines at the "Kamaz" truck factory have burned down. This will increase not only "Kamaz" prices, but also the prices of other trucks. This will also make shipment costs and other prices balloon like yeast.

The economy is a dame that does not like sentiments. She is a supreme dictator on the free markets of democratic states. States and their governments have only these levers—laws, taxes, customs duties, and their control mechanisms.

[Vytaras] In the civilized world, everyone declares his incomes very accurately and even calculates the taxes himself. For example, former U.S. Vice President Spiro Agnew had to resign when it turned out that he had paid taxes incorrectly.

[Sinevicius] So, you see how severe is the punishment of her majesty the economy. She topples even vice presidents.

[Vytaras] However, do we not make mistakes while flirting with her?

[Sinevicius] What sort of mistakes?

[Vytaras] We have liberated prices. However, we are trying to preserve the monopoly on production. This contradicts basic economic laws and the free market principles.

[Sinevicius] In 1990 when I was appointed trade minister, I was asked what I needed most of all. I replied then that I needed a set of laws on trade, bankruptcy, and anti-trust.

[Vytaras] What are the contents of this package of laws?

[Sinevicius] Freedom of trade, industry, and business. Property in private hands. The assets of the bankrupt businesses should be sold at auctions, or be appropriated by the state. Not the state or monopolists, but competitors must come to the free market and determine the prices of their products. We already have laws that meet these standards, more or less. However, what is the good of them? The price spiral is so coiled that no one is able to spring it. Small businessmen and monopolists do not have at least normal conditions. Monopolists have everything—technology, specialists, while businessmen have nothing. However, the tax and interest rate is almost the same. Is this the way to the privatization of industry?

[Vytaras] Could you tell us which part of industry and trade is in private hands?

[Sinevicius] About half of all industry and almost all trade are privatized in Lithuania. This imbalance alone shows that such a market delays action.

A market is a broad concept. Many people think that Gariunai [large bazaar in Vilnius suburb] is a real free market. However, it is a market of the pistol: He who pulls it out first is the winner.

[Vytaras] It is better to fish in troubled waters.

[Sinevicius] We are living at the time when hawks are tearing at honest people.

[Vytaras] The great Roman writer Publius Sirus was right when he wrote before our era that "Lucrum sine domno alterius fieri non potest!"

[Sinevicius] Yes, he was. One person's gain means another's loss. On the other hand, however, one who increases his wealth invests it into industry and creates new jobs. Sabonis earns more than Chomicius, and no one wonders why, although the latter runs more.

[Vytaras] On what are we going to base our relations with the East and the West?

[Sinevicius] I am a pragmatist. No matter who we trade with, the key is mutual profit. Certainly, there may be some businessmen who are looking for fools. They want to deceive us. We are selling our cattle for half-price. We thought that we were being paid good money. We ship abroad nonferrous metals, which we buy ourselves through legal and illegal means. We sell our labor force dirt cheap. Different impostors take advantage of this, and later disappear on the horizon.

Lithuania has about 7,000 joint ventures with foreign countries. It is difficult to say how many partners are reliable. However, these ventures do exist. The enterprises in Raseiniai and Vilkaviskis are manufacturing clothing for Western Europe. Our workers are paid considerably well, and Western firms make a profit. Unfortunately, there are almost no big foreign investments into our industry. Only "Philip Morris" is a pleasant exception. It has set up a joint venture with the tobbaco plant in Klaipeda. The "Vairas" enterprise in Siauliai and the wood processing plants in Kazlu Ruda and Klaipeda are expecting large investments. I would like to stress here that investments bring modern technologies and new jobs for skilled workers. Wages are also comparatively high.

We have traditional, longstanding relations with the East. Lithuania is interested in its raw materials—cotton, wool, and metal, to say nothing of such natural resources as oil and gas.

We can become an economic bridge between the East and the West.

The nature of capital is such that it gives result only when accumulated. Capital scattered throughout small stocks is a zero. Let us concentrate capital from the East and the West.

[Vytaras] Sometimes our people say that gold comes through crooked ways. However, justice cannot do without it.

[Sinevicius] By the way, our exports have grown considerably in recent months, and this means hard currency and gold. This year we sold about one-fourth of Lithuania's total production to Western countries, while last year this share was only 10 percent. Italians, the English, the French, Germans, and Poles buy our furniture, refrigerators, knitwear, and fabrics willingly. The CIS would also like to acquire a lot of things. However, it is difficult to settle payments with this importer.

[Vytaras] Your words make me think of the following: If we sell a lot, we can buy more and become richer. However, when I look at our life, I see that poverty is at every corner.... Will we remain impoverished?

[Sinevicius] There are no miracles in the economy. Even potatoes must be planted in spring and gathered only in fall. If we put our monetary policy on the right track and introduce order in our laws and their execution, I believe that we will be able to halt the fall of production this year. Certainly, stabilization does not mean that this will happen in all industries. We should not strive for this. We should produce the things that are in demand, and abandon all unnecessary production.

I am an optimist. We will not sink lower this year, and we might move sideways for a couple of years. After that, we may begin to get out of this hole.

[Vytaras] Thank you for the interview.